



MILTON'S
PARADISE
LOST

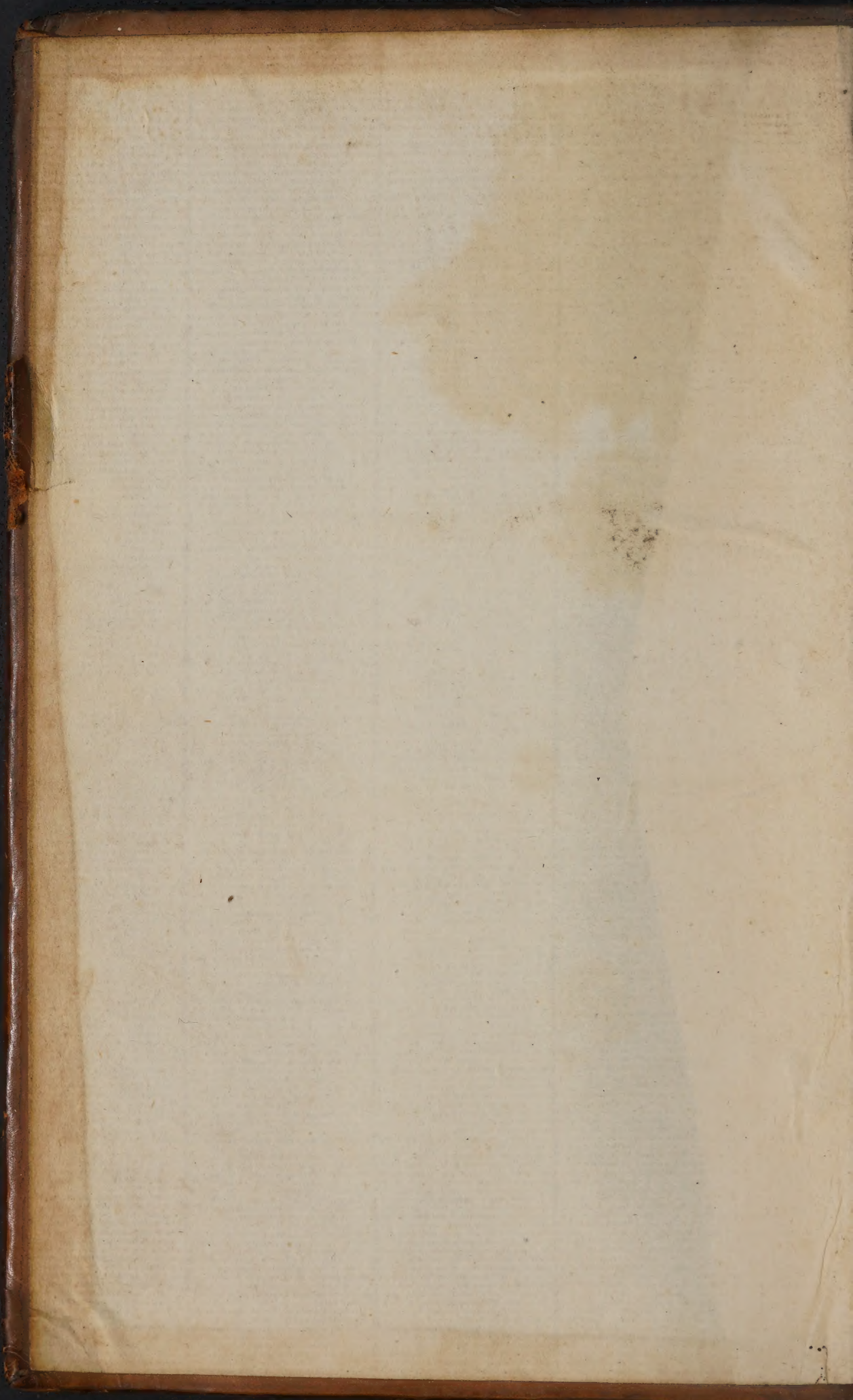
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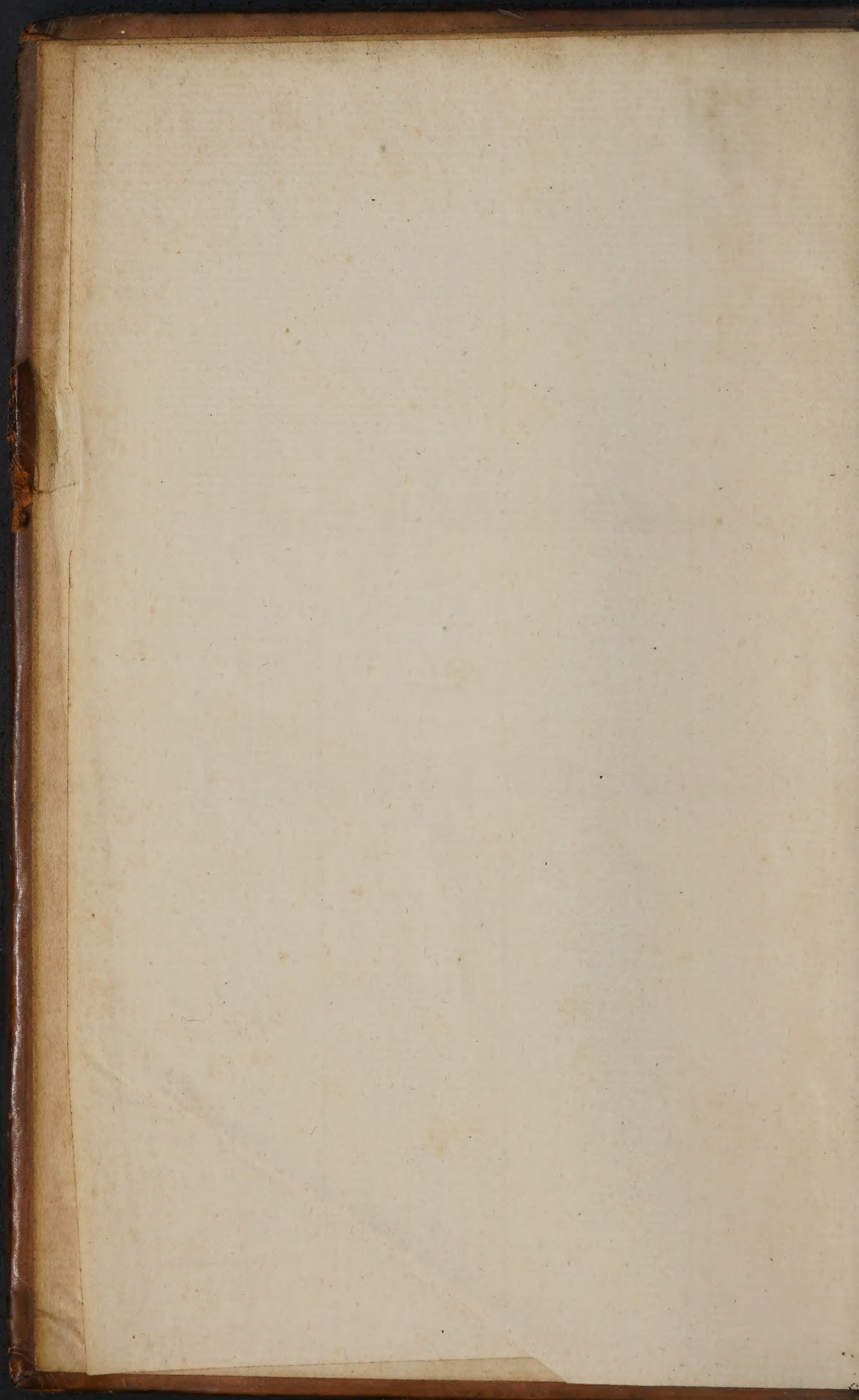












PARADISE LOST

POEM,

TWELVE BOOKS

JOHN MILTON

OF THE

RECOVERY OF MAN

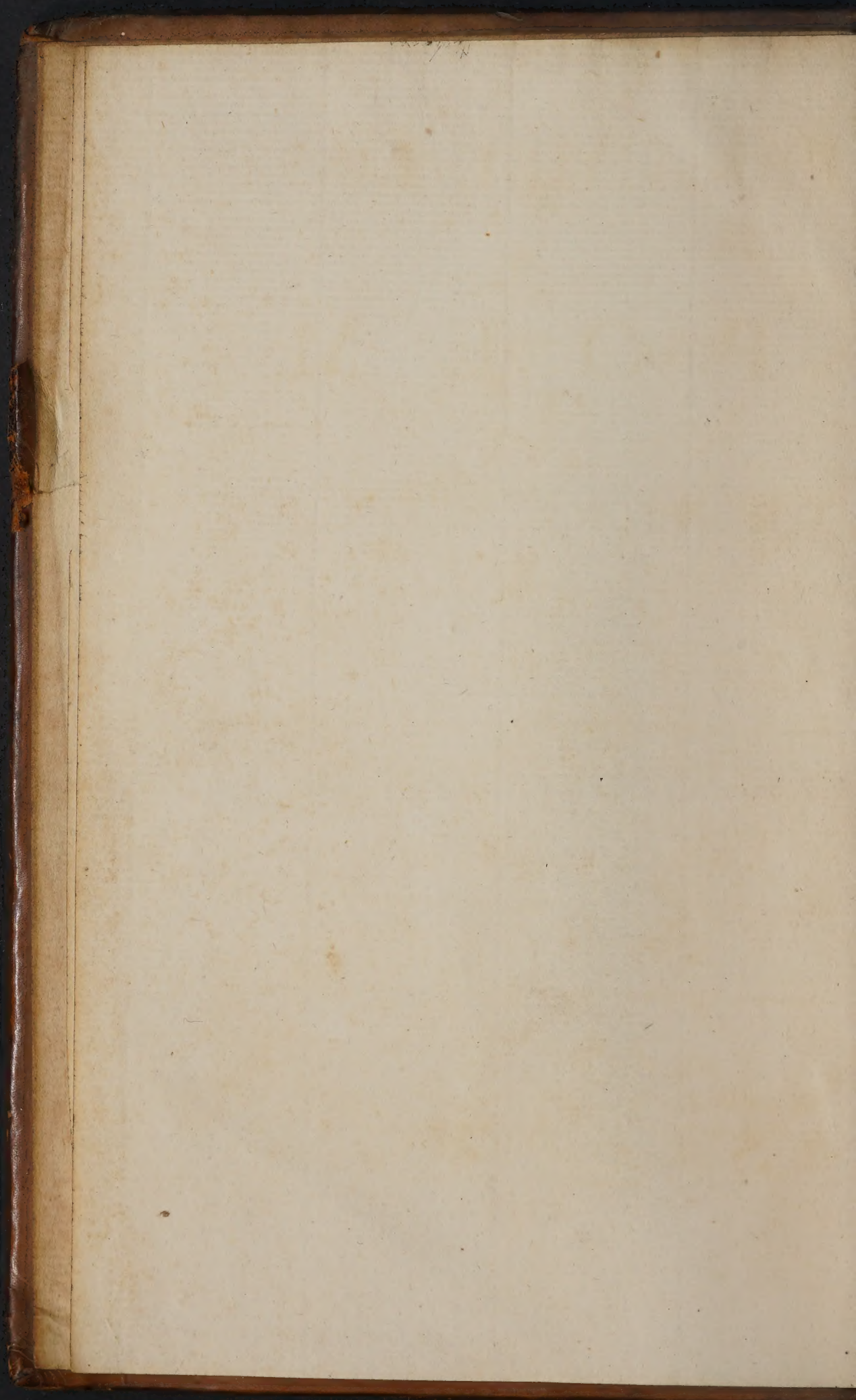
BY THE

POET

JOHN MILTON

OF THE

RECOVERY OF MAN



PARADISE LOST.

A

P O E M,

I N

T W E L V E B O O K S.

The A U T H O R

J O H N M I L T O N.

The S E C O N D E D I T I O N,
With N O T E S of various A U T H O R S,
By T H O M A S N E W T O N, D. D.

V O L U M E *the* S E C O N D.

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THE
SEVENTH BOOK
OF
PARADISE LOST.

A 2

THE ARGUMENT.

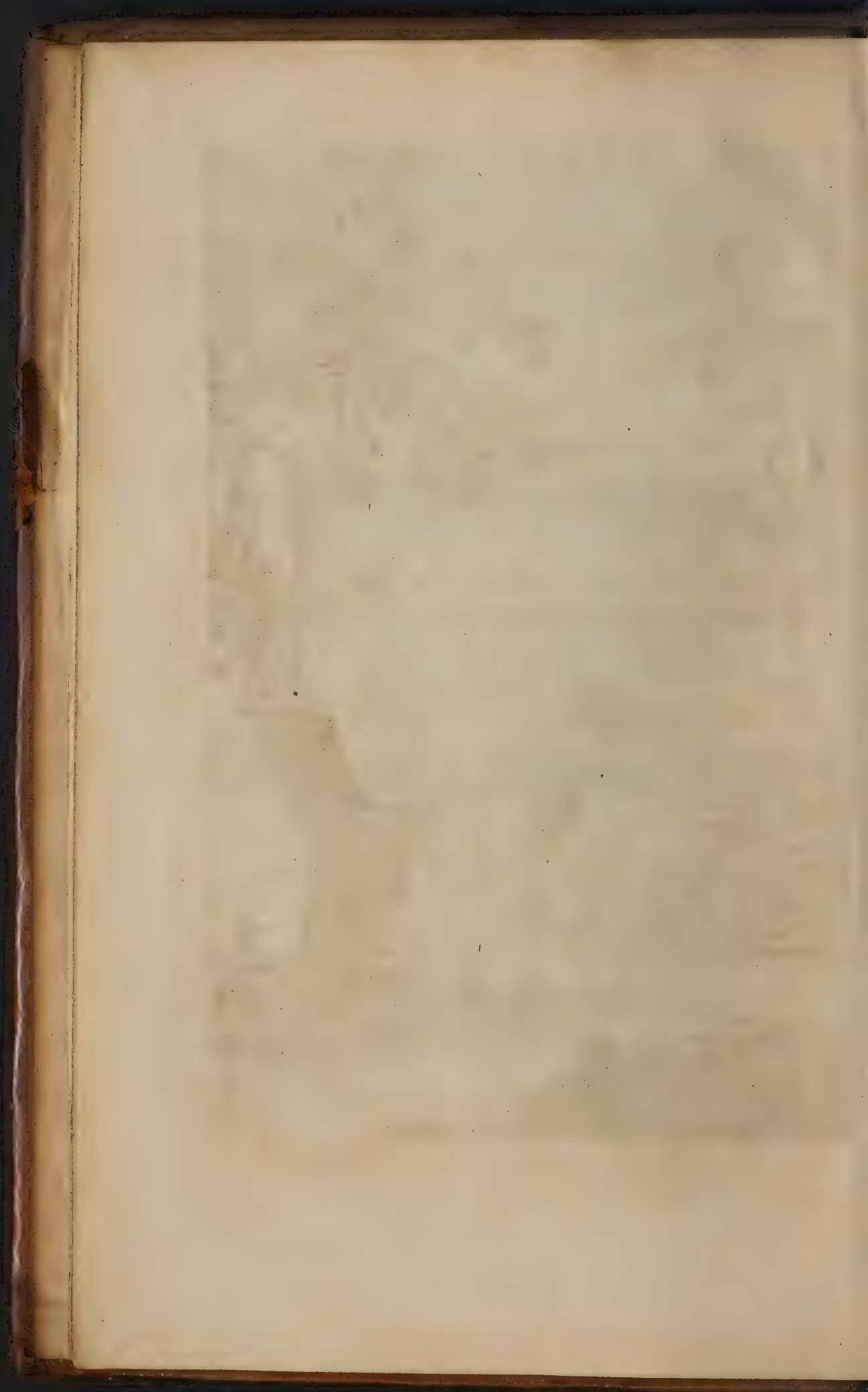
Raphael at the request of Adam relates how and wherefore this world was first created; that God, after the expelling of Satan and his Angels out of Heaven, declar'd his pleasure to create another world and other creatures to dwell therein; sends his Son with glory and attendance of Angels to perform the work of creation in six days: the Angels celebrate with hymns the performance thereof, and his reascension into Heaven.



F. Hayman inv. et del.

J. S. Müller sc.

Book 7.



PARADISE LOST.

B O O K VII.

DEscend from Heav'n, Urania, by that name
 If rightly thou art call'd, whose voice divine
 Following, above th' Olympian hill I soar,
 Above the flight of Pegaséan wing.

The meaning, not the name I call : for thou

5

Nor

1. *Descend from Heav'n, Urania,*] *Descende cœlo,* Hor. Od. III. IV. 1. but here it is better apply'd, as now his subject leads him from Heaven to Earth. The word *Urania* in Greek signifies *heav'nly*; and he invokes the *heav'nly Muse* as he had done before, I. 6. and as he had said in the beginning that he *intended to soar above th' Aonian mount*, so now he says very truly that he had effected what he intended, and *soars above th' Olympian hill, above the flight of Pegaséan wing*, that is his subject was more sublime than the loftiest flights of the Heathen poets. Dr. Bentley proposes *Parnassus* instead of *Olympus*, but the mountain Olympus is likewise celebrated for the seat of the Muses, who were therefore called Olympiades, as in Homer, Iliad II. 491. *Ολυμπίδες Μῦσαι*. And some would read *cold Olympus*, as in I. 516.

— on the snowy top
 Of *cold Olympus* —

and *snowy* is an epithet often given to this mountain by the ancient poets: but he calls it *old*, that is fam'd of old and long celebrated, as he says *old Euphrates*, I. 420. and *mount Casius old*, II. 593. His heavenly Muse was before the hills, which were from the beginning, as it follows.

5. ————— for thou
 Nor of the Muses nine, nor on the top
 Of old Olympus dwell' st, but *heav'nly born*,] Tasso in his invocation has the same sentiment. Gier. Lib. Cant. 1. St. 2.

O Musa, tu, che di caduchi allori
 Non circondi la fronte in *Helicon*;
 Ma sù nel cielo infra i beati chori
 Hai di stelle immortali aurea corona. Thyer.

A 3

8. Before

Nor of the Muses nine, nor on the top
 Of old Olympus dwell'd, but heav'nly born,
 Before the hills appear'd, or fountain flow'd,
 Thou with eternal Wisdom didst converse,
 Wisdom thy sister, and with her didst play
 In presence of th' almighty Father, pleas'd
 With thy celestial song. Up led by thee
 Into the Heav'n of Heav'ns I have presum'd,

10

An

8 *Before the hills appear'd, or fountain flow'd, &c.*] From Prov.

VIII. 24, 25, 30. *When there were no depths, I was brought forth; when there were no fountains abounding with water: Before the mountains were settled, before the hills was I brought forth: Then was I by him as one brought up with him; and I was daily his delight, rejoicing always before him, or playing according to the* Vulgar Latin (*ludens coram eo omni tempore*) to which Milton alludes, when he says *and with her didst play &c.* And so he quotes it likewise in his *Tetrachordon*, p. 222. Vol. I. Edit. 1738. "God himself conceals not his own recreations before the world was built; *I was*, saith the eternal Wisdom, *daily his delight, playing always before him.*"

printer and poet, *Fairy Queen*, B. 2. Cant. 2. St. 39.

Thus fairly she *attempered* her feast,
 And pleas'd them all with meet satiety.

I agree with the Doctor that *thee* is better than *thy temp'ring*. Thyer.

15 *Thy temp'ring*;] This is said in allusion to the difficulty of respiration on high mountains. This *empyrean* air was too pure and fine for him, but the heavenly Muse *temper'd* and qualify'd it so as to make him capable of breathing in it: which is a modest and beautiful way of bespeaking his reader to make favorable allowances for any failings he may have been guilty of in treating of so sublime a subject.

17. ——— (as once

Bellerophon, &c.] *Bellerophon* was a beautiful and valiant youth, son of Glaucus; who refusing the amorous applications of Antea wife of Prætus king of Argos, was by her false suggestions like those of Joseph's mistress to her husband, sent

14 — *and drawn empyreal air, Thy temp'ring*;] Dr. Bentley makes himself very merry in his insulting manner, with the word *temp'ring*, and calls it the printer's blunder; but I think the following application of it in Spenser may justify both

An earthly gueſt, and drawn empyreal air,
 Thy temp'ring; with like ſafety guided down 15
 Return me to my native element:
 Left from this flying ſteed unrein'd, (as once
 Bellerophon, though from a lower clime)
 Diſmounted, on th' Aleian field I fall
 Erroneous there to wander and forlorn. 20
 Half yet remains unſung, but narrower bound

Within

ſent into Lycia with letters deſiring his deſtruction; where he was put on ſeveral enterpriſes full of hazard, in which however he came off conqueror: but attempting vain-gloriouſly to mount up to Heaven on the winged horſe Pegasus, he fell and wander'd in the *Aleian* plains till he died. *Hume* and *Richardſon*. His ſtory is related at large in the fixth book of Homer's *Iliad*; but it is to the latter part of it that Milton chiefly alludes, ver. 200. &c.

Αλλ' ὅτε δὴ κακείνος ἀπὸ χθέρῳ
 πασι θεοῖσιν,
 ἦτοί ὁ καππεδίων το Ἀλίων οἶος
 ἀλατο,
 Ὅν θυμὸν κατέδων, πατὸν ἀνθρώπων
 ἀλυσίων.

But when at laſt, diſtracted in his mind,
 Forſook by Heav'n, forſaking human kind,
 Wide o'er th' Aleian field he choſe to ſtray,
 Along, forlorn, uncomfortable way.

Pope.

It is thus tranſlated by Cicero in his third book of *Tuſculan Diſputations*.

Qui miſer in campis mœrens errabat Aleis,
 Ipſe ſuum cor edens, hominum veſtigia vitans.

The plain truth of the ſtory ſeems to be, that in his latter days he grew mad with his poetry, which Milton begs may never be his own caſe: *Left from this flying ſteed &c.* He ſays *this* to diſtinguiſh his from the common Pegasus, *above the flight of whoſe wing he ſoared*, as he ſpeaks, ver. 4.

21. *Half yet remains unſung,*] I underſtand this with Mr. Richardſon, that 'tis the half of the epiſode, not of the whole work, that is here meant; for when the poem was divided into but ten books, that edition had this paſſage at the beginning of the ſeventh as now. The epiſode has two principal parts, the war in Heaven, and the new creation; the one was ſung, but the other remained unſung, and he is now entering upon it. — *but narrower bound.*

A 4

Within the visible diurnal sphere ;
 Standing on earth, not rapt above the pole,
 More safe I sing with mortal voice, unchang'd
 To hoarse or mute, though fall'n on evil days, 25
 On evil days though fall'n, and evil tongues ;
 In darkness, and with dangers compass'd round,
 And solitude ; yet not alone, while thou
 Visit'st my slumbers nightly, or when morn
 Purples the east : still govern thou my song, 30
 Urania, and fit audience find, though few.

But

bound. Bound here seems to be a participle as well as *unsung*. Half yet remains unsung ; but this other half is not rapt so much into the invisible world as the former, it is confin'd in narrower compass, and bound within the visible sphere of day.

24. *More safe I sing with mortal voice, unchang'd*

To hoarse or mute,] Dr. Bentley reads *with lofty voice*. Why *mortal voice* ? says the Doctor. I answer, because Milton had said in ver. 2. that he had follow'd Urania's *voice divine*. Again (says the Doctor) if his voice had grown *hoarse*, would it not have been still *mortal* ? and what is a voice changed to *mute* ? Both these questions are satisfy'd by putting only a comma, as in the first editions, (not a colon, as the Doctor has done) after *mute*. The words *unchang'd to hoarse or mute* refer to *I*, and not to *voice*, as he

supposes ; and then all is good sense, and there will be no need to read with the Doctor, *To hoarse or low*.

Pearce.

25. — *though fall'n on evil days,*] The repetition and turn of the words is very beautiful,

— *though fall'n on evil days,*
On evil days though fall'n, and evil
tongues ; &c.

A lively picture this in a few lines of the poet's wretched condition. *In darkness*, though is still understood ; he was not become *hoarse or mute* though *in darkness*, though he was blind, and *with dangers compass'd round, and solitude*, obnoxious to the government, and having a world of enemies among the royal party, and therefore oblig'd to live very much in privacy and alone. And what strength of mind was it, that could not only support him under the weight of these misfortunes, but enable

ble

But drive far off the barbarous dissonance
 Of Bacchus and his revelers, the race
 Of that wild rout that tore the Thracian bard
 In Rhodope, where woods and rocks had ears 35
 To rapture, till the savage clamor drown'd
 Both harp and voice ; nor could the Muse defend
 Her son. So fail not thou, who thee implores :
 For thou art heav'nly, she an empty dream.

Say Goddess, what ensued when Raphaël, 40
 The affable Arch-Angel, had forewarn'd

Adam

ble him to soar to such highths, as no human genius ever reached before ?

31.— *and fit audience find, though few.*] He had Horace in mind, Sat. I. X. 73.

—neque te ut miretur turba, labores, Contentus paucis lectoribus.

33. *Of Bacchus and his revelers,*] It is not improbable that the poet intended this as an oblique satir upon the dissoluteness of Charles the second and his court ; from whom he seems to apprehend the fate of Orpheus, a famous poet of Thrace, who tho' he is said to have charm'd woods and rocks with his divine songs, yet was torn to pieces by the Bacchanalian women on Rhodope a mountain of Thrace, nor could the Muse Calliope his mother defend him. *So fail not thou, who thee implores ;* nor was his wish ineffectual, for the government suffer'd him to live and die unmolested.

40. — *what ensued when Raphaël, &c.*] Longinus has observed, that there may be a loftiness in sentiments, where there is no passion, and brings instances out of ancient authors to support this his opinion. The pathetic, as that great critic observes, may animate and inflame the sublime, but is not essential to it. Accordingly, as he further remarks, we very often find that those who excel most in stirring up the passions, very often want the talent of writing in the great and sublime manner, and so on the contrary. Milton has shown himself a master in both these ways of writing. The seventh book, which we are now entering upon, is an instance of that sublime, which is not mixed and worked up with passion. The author appears in a kind of composed and sedate majesty ; and tho' the sentiments do not give so great an emotion, as those in the former book, they abound with

Adam by dire example to beware
 Apostasy, by what befel in Heaven
 To those apostates, lest the like befall
 In Paradise to Adam or his race, 45
 Charg'd not to touch the interdicted tree,
 If they transgress, and slight that sole command,
 So easily obey'd amid the choice
 Of all tastes else to please their appetite,
 Though wand'ring. He with his consoled Eve 50
 The story heard attentive, and was fill'd
 With admiration and deep muse, to hear
 Of things so high and strange, things to their thought
 So unimaginable as hate in Heaven,

And

with as magnificent ideas. The sixth book, like a troubled ocean, represents greatness in confusion; the seventh affects the imagination like the ocean in a calm, and fills the mind of the reader, without producing in it any thing like tumult or agitation. The critic above mention'd, among the rules which he lays down for succeeding in the sublime way of writing, proposes to his reader, that he should imitate the most celebrated authors who have gone before him, and been engaged in works of the same nature; as in particular, that if he writes on a poetical subject, he should consider how Homer would have spoken on such an occasion. By this means one great genius often catches the flame from another, and writes in his spirit, without copying servily after him. There are a thousand shining passages in Virgil, which have been lighted up by Homer. Milton, tho' his own natural strength of genius was capable of furnishing out a perfect work, has doubtless very much raised and ennobled his conceptions, by such an imitation as that which Longinus has recommended. In this book, which gives us an account of the six days works, the poet received very few assistances from Heathen writers, who were strangers to the wonders of creation. But as there are many glorious strokes of poetry upon this subject in holy Writ, the author has numberless allusions to them through the whole

And war so near the peace of God in bliss 55
 With such confusion: but the evil soon
 Driv'n back redounded as a flood on those
 From whom it sprung, impossible to mix
 With blessedness. Whence Adam soon repeal'd
 The doubts that in his heart arose: and now 60
 Led on, yet sinless, with desire to know
 What nearer might concern him, how this world
 Of Heav'n and Earth conspicuous first began,
 When, and whereof created, for what cause,
 What within Eden or without was done 65
 Before his memory, as one whose drouth
 Yet scarce allay'd still eyes the current stream,
 Whose

whole course of this book. The great critic I have before mention'd, though an Heathen, has taken notice of the sublime manner in which the Lawgiver of the Jews has described the creation in the first chapter of Genesis; and there are many other passages in Scripture which rise up to the same majesty, where this subject is touched upon. Milton has shown his judgment very remarkably, in making use of such of these as were proper for his poem, and in duly qualifying those high strains of eastern poetry, which were suited to readers, whose imaginations were set to a higher pitch than those of colder climates. *Addison.*

47. *If they transgress, &c.*] We should observe the connexion; *Left*

the like befall to Adam or his race, if they transgress, &c.

50. — *He with his comforted Eve*] *Comforted* from *Consort*, *Cum confortatori*, as Ovid says, *Met. I.* 319.

59. — *Whence Adam soon repeal'd*
The doubts that in his heart arose:]
 Dr. Bentley would read *dispell'd*: but if an alteration were necessary, I should rather read *repell'd*, as in ver. 610. we have — *their counsels vain Thou hast repell'd*. But in the same sense as a law is said to be *repeal'd*, when an end is put to all the force and effect of it; so, when doubts are at an end, they may be said to be *repeal'd*. Pearce.

69. *Pro-*

Whose liquid murmur heard new thirst excites,
Proceeded thus to ask his heav'nly guest.

Great things, and full of wonder in our ears, 70
Far differing from this world, thou hast reveal'd,
Divine interpreter, by favor sent
Down from the empyréan to forewarn
Us timely' of what might else have been our loss,
Unknown, which human knowledge could not reach:
For which to th' infinitely Good we owe 76
Immortal thanks, and his admonishment
Receive with solemn purpose to observe
Immutably his sovran will, the end
Of what we are. But since thou hast vouchsaf'd 80
Gently for our instruction to impart

Things

69. *Proceeded thus &c.*] The construction is, *And led on with desire to know &c proceeded thus to ask his heav'nly guest.*

70. *Great things, &c.*] Adam's speech to the Angel, wherein he desires an account of what had passed within the regions of nature before the creation, is very great and solemn. The following lines, in which he tells him, that the day is not too far spent for him to enter upon such a subject, are exquisite in their kind.

And the great light of day yet
wants to run
Much of his race &c. *Addison.*

72. *Divine interpreter,*] So Mercury is call'd in Virgil *Interpres Divum*, *Æn.* IV. 378.

79. — *the end*
Of what we are.] The will of God is the end to which all we are; *thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are, and were created,* *Rev.* IV. 11.

88. — *and this which yields or fills*
All space, the ambient air wide
interfus'd] Yields space to all bodies, and again fills up the deserted space so as to be subservient to motion. *Richardson.* *Ambient interfus'd*

Things above earthly thought, which yet concern'd
 Our knowing, as to highest wisdom seem'd,
 Deign to descend now lower, and relate
 What may no less perhaps avail us known, 85
 How first began this Heav'n which we behold
 Distant so high, with moving fires adorn'd
 Innumerable, and this which yields or fills
 All space, the ambient air wide interfus'd
 Embracing round this florid earth, what cause 90
 Mov'd the Creator in his holy rest
 Through all eternity so late to build
 In Chaos, and the work begun, how soon
 Absolv'd, if unforbid thou may'st unfold
 What we, not to explore the secrets ask 95
 Of

interfus'd denotes the air not only surrounding the earth, but flowing into and spun out between all bodies; and is a fuller and finer notation of its liquid and spiritual texture, leaving no Vacuum in nature than that of Ovid,

Nec circumfuso pendebat in aere
 tellus. Met. I. 12. *Hume.*

92. — *so late to build*] It is a question that has been often asked, Why God did not create the world sooner? but the same question might be asked, if the world had been created at any time, for still there were infinite ages before that time.

And that can never be a just exception against this time, which holds equally against all time. It must be resolved into the good will and pleasure of almighty God; but there is a farther reason according to Milton's hypothesis, which is that God, after the expelling of Satan and his Angels out of Heaven, declar'd his pleasure to supply their place by creating another world, and other creatures to dwell therein.

94. *Absolv'd,*] Finish'd, completed, perfected, from *Absolutus* (Latin.) *Richardson.*

98. *And*

Of his eternal empire, but the more
 To magnify his works, the more we know.
 And the great light of day yet wants to run
 Much of his race though steep; suspense in Heaven,
 Held by thy voice, thy potent voice, he hears, 100
 And longer will delay to hear thee tell
 His generation, and the rising birth
 Of nature from the unapparent deep:
 Or if the star of evening and the moon
 Haste to thy audience, night with her will bring 105
 Silence,

98. *And the great light of day yet
 wants to run &c.*] Our author
 has improv'd upon Homer, Odyss.
 XI. 372. where Alcinous by the
 same sort of arguments endeavors
 to persuade Ulysses to continue his
 narration; only there it was night,
 and here the scene is by day.

Νοξ δ' ἵδε μαλα μακρὴ, αἰεσ-
 φατ' ὅδε πῶ ὥρῃ
 Ἑυδὲν ἐν μεγάρῳ· σὺ δὲ μοι
 λέγε θεσκελὰ ἔργα.
 Καὶ κεν ἐς ἡὼ δῖαν ἀναχοίμην—

And lo! a length of night behind
 remains,
 The evening stars still mount th'
 ethereal plains.
 Thy tale with raptures I could hear
 thee tell,
 Thy woes on Earth, the wondrous
 scenes in Hell,

Till in the vault of Heav'n the stars
 decay,
 And the sky reddens with the rising
 day. Broome.

Mr. Thyer is of opinion, that there
 is not a greater instance of our
 author's exquisite skill in the art of
 poetry, than this and the following
 lines. There is nothing more, re-
 ally to be express'd, than Adam's
 telling Raphael his desire to hear
 the continuance of his relation, and
 yet the poet by a series of strong
 and noble figures has work'd it up
 into half a score of as fine lines as
 any in the whole poem. Lord
 Shaftsbury has observed, that Mil-
 ton's beauties generally depend upon
 solid thought, strong reasoning, no-
 ble passion, and a continued thread
 of moral doctrine; but in this place
 he has shown what an exalted fancy
 and mere force of poetry can do.

Silence, and sleep list'ning to thee will watch,
Or we can bid his absence, till thy song
End, and dismiss thee ere the morning shine.

Thus Adam his illustrious guest befought :
And thus the Godlike Angel answer'd mild. 110

This also thy request with caution ask'd
Obtain : though to recount almighty works
What words or tongue of Seraph can suffice,
Or heart of man suffice to comprehend ?
Yet what thou canst attain, which best may serve 115
To

99. — *suspense in Heaven,*
Held by thy voice, thy potent
voice, he hears,] We have
here alter'd the punctuation of the
first editions, which was thus,

— *suspense in Heaven*
Held by thy voice, thy potent voice
he hears,

for after it is said *he is held suspense*
in Heaven by thy voice, to say *he hears*
thy voice is poor and low indeed.
He must first hear it before he can
be held by it. We have therefore
follow'd the punctuation of Dr.
Pearce; and the sense seems plain,
as he has pointed these verses, *Held*
by thy potent voice, he hears suspense
in Heaven, that is he stops and
hearkens, he stays and is attentive.
The poets often feign the rivers to
stop their course, and other inani-
mate parts of nature to hear the
songs of Orpheus and the like, Virg.
Ecl. VIII. 4.

Et mutata suos requierunt flumina
cursus.

Nay charms and verses can bring
the moon down from Heaven,

Carmina vel cœlo possunt deducere
lunam : ver. 69.

and well therefore may Milton sup-
pose the sun to *delay, suspended in*
Heaven, to hear the Angel tell his
generation, and especially since we
read that the sun did stand still at
the voice of Joshua.

103. — *unapparent deep:]* Where
nothing was to be seen according to
Gen. I. 2. *Darkness was upon the*
face of the deep. Hume.

110. *And thus the Godlike Angel*
answer'd mild] The An-
gel's encouraging our first parents in
a modest pursuit after knowledge,
with the causes which he assigns for
the

To glorify the Maker, and infer
 Thee also happier, shall not be withheld
 Thy hearing, such commission from above
 I have receiv'd, to answer thy desire
 Of knowledge within bounds; beyond abstain 120
 To ask, nor let thine own inventions hope
 Things not reveal'd, which th' invisible King,
 Only omniscient, hath suppress'd in night,
 To none communicable in Earth or Heaven:
 Enough is left besides to search and know. 125
 But knowledge is as food, and needs no less
 Her temp'rance over appetite, to know
 In measure what the mind may well contain;
 Oppresses else with surfeit, and soon turns

Wisdom

the creation of the world, are very
 just and beautiful. *Addison.*

116. — *and infer*
Thee happier,] And by inference
 make thee happier.

121. — *nor let thine own inven-*
tions hope] Milton seems here
 to allude to Eccles. VII. 29. *they*
have sought out many inventions;
 which commentators explain by rea-
 sonings. No need then for Dr. Bent-
 ley's *conceptions*. *Pearce.*

Dr. Bentley misliking the word *in-*
ventions changes it for *conceptions*,
 which, I fancy, he would not have
 done, had he considered the Scrip-

ture use of this term, to which, I
 make no doubt, Milton alluded.
Thus they provoked him to anger with
their own inventions, Psal. CVI. 29.
And went a whoring with their own
inventions, ver. 38. The two fol-
 lowing lines are almost a literal
 translation of these two in Horace,
 Od. III. XXIX. 29.

Prudens futuri temporis exitum
Caliginosa nocte premit Deus.

Thyer.

122. — *th' invisible King,*] As
 God is stiled in Scripture *the invis-*
ible King, 1 Tim. I. 17. so this is the
 properest epithet that could have
 been

Book VII. PARADISE LOST. 17

Wisdom to folly', as nourishment to wind. 130

Know then, that after Lucifer from Heaven
(So call him, brighter once amidst the host
Of Angels, than that star the stars among)
Fell with his flaming legions through the deep
Into his place, and the great Son return'd 135
Victorious with his Saints, th' omnipotent
Eternal Father from his throne beheld
Their multitude, and to his Son thus spake.

At least our envious foe hath fail'd, who thought
All like himself rebellious, by whose aid 140
This inaccessible high strength, the feat
Of deity supreme, us dispossess'd,
He trusted to have feis'd, and into fraud

Drew

been employ'd here, when he is speaking of *things not reveal'd, suppress'd in night, to none communicable in Earth or Heaven*, neither to Men nor Angels, as it is said of the day of judgment, Mat. XXIV. 36. *Of that day and hour knoweth no Man, no not the Angels of Heaven, but my Father only.*

135. *Into his place,*] As the traitor Judas is said likewise to go to his own place, Acts I. 25.

139. *At least*] I don't like taking liberties with the original text, or else I should choofe to read *At last*.

Thyer.

143. — *and into fraud*

Drew many,] *Fraud* in common acceptation means no more than deceit, but often signifies misfortune. Milton, who so constantly makes Latin or Greek of English, does it here, and extends the idea to the misery, the punishment consequent upon the deceit, as well as the deceit itself. So that Satan is said here, not only to have drawn many into fraud, not only that he

— allur'd them, and with lies
Drew after him the third part of
Heav'n's host,

Drew many, whom their place knows here no more;
 Yet far the greater part have kept, I see, 145
 Their station, Heav'n yet populous retains
 Number sufficient to possess her realms
 Though wide, and this high temple to frequent
 With ministeries due and solemn rites:
 But lest his heart exalt him in the harm 150
 Already done, to have dispeopled Heaven,
 My damage fondly deem'd, I can repair
 That detriment, if such it be to lose
 Self-lost, and in a moment will create
 Another world, out of one man a race 155
 Of men innumerable, there to dwell,
 Not here, till by degrees of merit rais'd

They

as V. 709. but that he ruin'd as well
 as cheated them, I. 609.

Millions of Spirits for his fault
 amerc'd
 Of Heav'n, and from eternal splen-
 dors flung
 For his revolt. *Richardson.*

144. — *whom their place knows
 here no more;*] A Scripture
 expression, Job VII. 10. *neither shall
 his place know him any more.* Psal.
 CIII. 16. *and the place thereof shall
 know it no more.*

154. — *and in a moment*] Our
 author seems to favor the opinion
 of some Divines, that God's crea-

tion was instantaneous, but the ef-
 fects of it were made visible and ap-
 pear'd in six days in condescension
 to the capacities of Angels; and is
 so related by Moses in condescension
 to the capacities of Men.

160. *And Earth be chang'd to Heav'n,
 and Heav'n to Earth,*] Milton's
 meaning seems to have been this,
 That Earth would be so happy in
 being inhabited by obedient creatures,
 that it would be chang'd to *i. e.* re-
 semble Heaven; and Heaven by
 receiving those creatures would in
 this resemble Earth, that it would
 be stock'd with men for its inhabi-
 tants. *Pearce.* Or thus in short,
 the

They open to themselves at length the way
 Up hither, under long obedience try'd, 159
 And Earth be chang'd to Heav'n, and Heav'n to Earth,
 One kingdom, joy and union without end.
 Mean while inhabit lax, ye Pow'rs of Heaven,
 And thou my Word, begotten Son, by thee
 This I perform, speak thou, and be it done:
 My overshadowing Spi'rit and might with thee 165
 I fend along; ride forth, and bid the deep
 Within appointed bounds be Heav'n and Earth,
 Boundless the deep, because I am who fill
 Infinitude, nor vacuous the space.
 Though I uncircumscrib'd myself retire, 170
 And put not forth my goodness which is free

To

the Angels frequently visiting Earth, and Men being translated to Heaven.

162. *Mean while inhabit lax,*] Dwell more at large, there being more room now than there was before the rebel Angels were expell'd, or than there will be after Men are translated to Heaven. If this be the meaning, we cannot much commend the beauty of the sentiment, as it intimates that the Angels might be straiten'd for room in Heaven.

165. *My overshadowing Spi'rit*] As God's Spirit is said to do, Luke I. 35. *The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest*

shall overshadow thee: and we read Gen. I. 2. that *the Spirit of God moved*, or rather brooded, *upon the face of the waters*. The Spirit of God cooperated in the creation, and therefore is said to be *sent along* with the Son.

168. *Boundless the deep. &c.*] The sense is, the deep is boundless, but the space contain'd in it is not vacuous and empty, because there is an infinitude and I fill it. Tho' I, who am myself uncircumscrib'd, set bounds to my goodness, and do not exert it every where, yet neither necessity nor chance influence my actions, &c. Pearce.

B 2

173. — and

To act or not, necessity and chance
Approach not me, and what I will is fate.

So spake th' Almighty, and to what he spake
His Word, the filial Godhead, gave effect. 175
Immediate are the acts of God, more swift
Than time or motion, but to human ears
Cannot without process of speech be told,
So told as earthly notion can receive.
Great triumph and rejoicing was in Heaven, 180
When such was heard declar'd th' Almighty's will;
Glory they sung to the most High, good will
To future men, and in their dwellings peace:

Glory

173. — *and what I will is fate.*] From Lucan, V. 91.

— Deus magnusque potensque
Sive canit fatum, seu quod jubet
ipse canendo
Fit fatum. Bentley.

Or from Statius, Theb. I. 212.

— grave et immutabile sanctis
Pondus adest verbis, et vocem fata
sequuntur. Fortin.

An expression borrow'd from Tasso,
where Satan mimicking the Deity
says to his followers,

Sia destin ciò, ch' io voglio —
Gier. Lib. Cant. 4. St. 17.

Or rather from Claudian De Rapt.
Prof. II. 306.

Sit fatum quodcunque voles. —
Thyer.

182. *Glory they sung to the most High, &c.*] The Angels are very properly made to sing the same divine song to usher in the creation, that they did to usher in the second creation by Jesus Christ, Luke II. 14. And we cannot but approve Dr. Bentley's emendation, *Glory they sung to God most High*, instead of *to the most High*, as it improves the measure of the verse, is more oppos'd to *men* immediately following, and agrees better with the words of St. Luke, *Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men.*

186. — *to him Glory and praise,*] It may be worth remarking how he turns the words, ver. 184. *Glory to him, &c.* and here *to him Glory and praise.* One would wonder

Glory to him, whose just avenging ire
 Had driven out th' ungodly from his fight 185
 And th' habitations of the just; to him
 Glory and praise, whose wisdom had ordain'd
 Good out of evil to create, instead
 Of Spi'rits malign a better race to bring
 Into their vacant room, and thence diffuse 190
 His good to worlds and ages infinite.

So sang the Hierarchies: Mean while the Son
 On his great expedition now appear'd,
 Girt with omnipotence, with radiance crown'd
 Of majesty divine; sapience and love 195
 Im-

wonder how it could ever have been
 objected to Milton that he had no
 turns of the words in him, when
 there are more beautiful repetitions
 and turns of the words in him than
 in almost any poet. A bare repeti-
 tion of the words often gives great
 force and beauty to the sentence, as
 in Iliad. XX. 371.

Τε δ' ἐγὼ ἀνίστημι, καὶ ἐπὶ
 χεῖρας εἰσὶν,
 Εἰ πῦρ χεῖρας εἰσὶν, μὲν δ'
 αἰθῶνι σιδήρῳ.

and Iliad. XXII. 127.

Τὼ σαρξεναι, ἀπὸ παρθεν
 νῆος τε,
 Παρθεν νῆος τ', σαρξεν
 ἀλλήλοισιν.

and Virg. Æn. VII. 586.

Ille, velut pelagi rupes immota,
 resistit;
 Ut pelagi rupes —

But Milton seldom repeats the words
 without the additional beauty of
 turning them too, as in this place;
 and in this book before,

— though fall'n on evil days,
 On evil days though fall'n, and evil
 tongues:

and I know not whether the English
 verse has not in this respect the ad-
 vantage of the Greek and Latin.

192. — *Mean while the Son &c.*
 The Messiah, by whom, as we are
 told in Scripture, the worlds were
 made, comes forth in the power of
 his Father, surrounded with an host
 B 3 of

Immense, and all his Father in him shone.
 About his chariot numberless were pour'd
 Cherub and Seraph, Potentates and Thrones,
 And Virtues, winged Spi'rits, and chariots wing'd
 From th' armoury of God, where stand of old 200
 Myriads between two brazen mountains lodg'd
 Against a solemn day, harness'd at hand,
 Celestial equipage; and now came forth
 Spontaneous, for within them Spirit liv'd,

Attendent

of Angels, and clothed with such a majesty as becomes his entring upon a work, which according to our conceptions appears the utmost exertion of omnipotence. What a beautiful description has our author rais'd upon that hint in one of the Prophets! *And behold there came four chariots out from between two mountains, and the mountains were mountains of brass.* (Zech. VI. 1.) I have before taken notice of these chariots of God, and of the gates of Heaven; and shall here only add, that Homer gives us the same idea of the latter, as opening of themselves; though he afterwards takes off from it by telling us, that the *Hours* first of all removed those prodigious heaps of clouds which lay as a barrier before them. Addison.

197. *About his chariot numberless were pour'd Cherub and Seraph,*] Dr. Bentley calls *Cherub pour'd* an aukward ex-

pression: But yet we read in II. 997.

— Heav'n gates

Pour'd out by millions her victorious bands.

Par. Reg. III. 310.

— and saw what numbers numberless

The city gates out *pour'd*.

And so in Virg. *Æn.* I. 214. *Fusa* per herbam, and VII. 812. *agris effusa* juvenus, and frequently else where. But the word *pour'd* has still more propriety here, as it shows the readiness and forwardness of the Angels to attend the Messiah's expedition: they were so earnest as not to stay to form themselves into regular order, but were *pour'd numberless* about his chariot. Pearce.

206. — *harmonious sound*

On golden hinges moving,] Gates moving sound on hinges. So III. 37. *Thoughts move harmonious numbers.* Horace

Attendent on their Lord : Heav'n open'd wide 205
 Her ever during gates, harmonious found
 On golden hinges moving, to let forth
 The King of Glory in his pow'rful Word
 And Spirit coming to create new worlds.
 On heav'nly ground they stood, and from the shore
 They view'd the vast immeasurable abyfs 211
 Outrageous as a sea, dark, wasteful, wild,
 Up from the bottom turn'd by furious winds

And

Horace expresses it in the same manner, Ep. II. II. 86.

Verba lyræ motura sonum connectere digner ?

The infernal doors had no such harmony; they grated harsh thunder that shook Erebus, II. 881.

Richardson.

210. *On heavenly ground they stood, &c.]* I do not know any thing in the whole poem more sublime than the description which follows, where the Messiah is represented at the head of his Angels, as looking down into the Chaos, calming its confusion, riding into the midst of it, and drawing the first out-line of the creation, Addison.

211. *They view'd &c.]* Milton's description of God the Son and his attendant Angels viewing the vast unmeasurable abyfs &c. has a great resemblance to the following passage in Vida. Christ. Lib. 1.

Hic superum fator informem speculatus acervum,
 Æternam noctemque, indigestumque profundum,
 Prima videbatur moliri exordia rerum
 Ipse micans radiis, ac multa luce coruscus.

And that he had this in his eye is I think the more probable, because his account of the creation of light and its being afterwards transplanted into the sun's orb, which was not yet created, carries a strong allusion to the succeeding lines,

Jamque videbatur fulva de nube creare
 Stelligeri convexa poli, terrasque, fretumque,
 Et lucem simul undivagam, mox unde micantes
 Et solis radios, et coeli accenderet ignes. Thyer.

And surging waves, as mountains, to assault 214
Heav'n's highth, and with the center mix the pole.

Silence, ye troubled waves, and thou deep, peace,
Said then th' omnific Word, your discord end:
Nor stay'd, but on the wings of Cherubim
Uplifted, in paternal glory rode

Far

214. — *And surging waves,*] We have already given some instances where we thought that *and* and *in* have been misprinted the one for the other: and I question whether in this place we should not read *In surging waves as mountains*; for it seems better to say of the sea, *Up from the bottom turn'd in surging waves*, than *Up from the bottom turn'd by surging waves*.

215. — *and with the center mix the pole.*] 'Tis certain that in Chaos was neither center nor pole; so neither were there any mountains as in the preceding line; the Angel does not say there were: He tells Adam there was such confusion in Chaos, as if on earth the sea in mountainous waves should rise from its very bottom to assault Heaven, and mix the center of the globe with the extremities of it. The aptest illustration he could possibly have thought of to have given Adam some idea of the thing. *Richardson.*

216. *Silence, ye troubled waves, and thou deep, peace,*] How much does the brevity of the command add to the sublimity and majesty of it! It is the same kind of beauty that Longinus admires in the Mosaic history of the creation. It

is of the same strain with the same *omnific Word's* calming the tempest in the Gospel, when he said to the raging sea, *Peace, be still*, Mark IV. 39. And how elegantly has he turn'd the commanding words *silence* and *peace*, making one the first and the other the last in the sentence, and thereby giving the greater force and emphasis to both! And how nobly has he concluded the verse with a spondee or foot of two long syllables, which is not a common measure in this place, but when it is used, it necessarily occasions a slower pronunciation, and thereby fixes more the attention of the reader! It is a beauty of the same kind as the spondee in the fifth place in Greek or Latin verses, of which there are some memorable examples in Virgil, as when he speaks of low valleys, Georg. III. 276.

Saxa per et scopulos et depressas convalles:

or when he would describe the majesty of the Gods, Ecl. IV. 49.

Cara Deum soboles, magnum Jovis incrementum:

Æn. VIII. 679.

— *Penatibus, et magnis Diis:*

or

Far into Chaos, and the world unborn; 220
 For Chaos heard his voice: him all his train
 Follow'd in bright proceſſion to behold
 Creation, and the wonders of his might.
 Then ſtay'd the fervid wheels, and in his hand
 He took the golden compaſſes, prepar'd 225

In

or great caution and circumspection,
 Æn. II. 68.

Conſtitit, atque oculis Phrygia ag-
 mina circumſpexit :

or a great interval between two men
 running, Æn. V. 320.

Proximus huic, longo ſed proximus
 intervallo.

The learned and ingenious Mr. Up-
 ton, in his Critical Observations,
 hath given us a parallel inſtance out
 of Shakeſpear, and ſays that no poet
 did ever equal this beauty but Shake-
 ſpear. In Macbeth, Act II.

What hath quench'd them, hath
 giv'n me fire. Hark, peace.

224. — *the fervid wheels,*] Ho-
 race's epithet, Od. I. I. 4.

Metaque *fervidis* evitata rotis.

Hume.

225. *He took the golden compaſſes,*
 Prov. VIII. 27. *When he prepared
 the Heavens I was there; when he
 ſet a compaſs upon the face of the deep.*
 Dionyſ. Perieg. ad finem.

Αὐτοὶ γὰρ τὰ πρῶτα θεμελίαι
 τοῦ πᾶντος,

καὶ βαθὺν οἶμον ἐδείξαν ἀμετρή-
 τοιο θαλάσσης.

They round the Chaos, round the
 world unborn

Fiſt deign'd their golden compaſſes
 to turn ;

They thro' the deep chalk'd out
 our ample road,

And broke the lawleſs empire of
 the flood.

Kennet's Life of Dionyſius.

Richardſon.

The thought of the golden compaſſes
 is conceived altogether in Homer's
 ſpirit, and is a very noble incident
 in this wonderful deſcription. Ho-
 mer, when he ſpeaks of the Gods,
 aſcribes to them ſeveral arms and
 inſtruments with the ſame greatneſs
 of imagination. Let the reader only
 peruſe the deſcription of Minerva's
 Ægis or buckler in the fifth book,
 with her ſpear which would overturn
 whole ſquadrons, and her helmet
 that was ſufficient to cover an army
 drawn out of a hundred cities. The
 golden compaſſes in the above men-
 tion'd paſſage appear a very natural
 inſtrument in the hand of him,
 whom Plato ſomewhere calls the di-
 vine geometrician. As poetry de-
 lights in clothing abſtracted ideas in
 allegories and ſenſible images, we
 find a magnificent deſcription of the
 creation form'd after the ſame man-
 ner

In God's eternal store, to circumscribe
 This universe, and all created things:
 One foot he center'd, and the other turn'd
 Round through the vast profundity obscure,
 And said, Thus far extend, thus far thy bounds, 230
 This be thy just circumference, O world.
 Thus God the Heav'n created, thus the Earth,
 Matter uniform'd and void: Darknefs profound
 Cover'd th' abyfs: but on the watry calm

His

ner in one of the Prophets, wherein he describes the almighty architect as measuring the waters in the hollow of his hand, meting out the Heavens with his span, comprehending the dust of the earth in a measure, weighing the mountains in scales and the hills in a balance. Another of them describing the supreme Being in this great work of creation represents him as laying the foundations of the earth, and stretching a line upon it: and in another place as garnishing the Heavens, stretching out the north over the empty place, and hanging the earth upon nothing. This last noble thought Milton has express'd in the following verse,

And Earth self balanc'd on her
 center hung. *Addison.*

232. *Thus God the Heaven created,*
 &c.] The reader will naturally remark how exactly Milton copies Moses in his account of the creation. This seventh book of Para-

dise Lost may be called a larger sort of paraphrase upon the first chapter of Genesis. Milton not only observes the same series and order, but preserves the very words as much as he can, as we may see in this and other instances. *In the beginning God created the Heaven and the Earth; And the Earth was without form and void, and darknefs was upon the face of the deep; and the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.* Gen. I. 1, 2. The poet says *watry calm*, as the Messiah had before calmed the deep, ver. 216. and says *outspread his brooding wings* instead of *moved*, following the original rather than our translation.

239. — *then founded, then conglob'd &c.*] Milton had said that Messiah first purg'd downward the infernal dregs which were adverse to life; and that then of things friendly to life he *founded* and *conglob'd* like to like, that is he caus'd them to assemble and associate together: the *rest*, that is such things as were

His brooding wings the Spi'rit of God outspread, 235
 And vital virtue' infus'd, and vital warmth
 Throughout the fluid mafs, but downward purg'd
 The black tartareous cold infernal dregs
 Adverse to life : then founded, then conglob'd
 Like things to like, the rest to feveral place 240
 Difparted, and between spun out the air,
 And Earth self-balanc'd on her center hung.

Let there be light, faid God, and forthwith light
 Ethereal,

were not of the fame nature and fit for composing the earth, went off to other places, perhaps to form the planets and fix'd ftars. This feems to be Milton's meaning. *Pearce*. Here it will be of ufe to recur to the account in III. 708. The earthy, watry, aery, and fiery particles, which before were blended promifcuoufly, were now combin'd and fix'd as a foundation; for *founded* does either fignify that from *fundare*, or to *melt* from *fundere*; this latter it cannot mean, 'twas already fluid. Thus Pfal. LXXXIX. 11. *As for the world and the fulnefs thereof Thou haft founded them*. So Prov. III. 19. *The Lord by wifdom hath founded the earth*. The *rest* muft be fomething different from the now elementary bodies, and that (III. 716.) is determin'd to be the ethereal quinteffence, of which the heavenly luminous bodies were form'd.

Richardfon.

Diffugere inde loci partes cœpere,
 pærefque

Cum paribus jungi res &c.

Lucret. V. 438.

241.—and between spun out the air,
 And Earth self-balanc'd on her
 center hung.] From Ovid Met.
 I. 12. but very much improv'd;

— circumfuso pendebat in aere
 tellus

Ponderibus librata fuis.

243. Let there be light, faid God,
 and forthwith light &c.]

Gen. I. 3. And God faid, Let there be light; and there was light. This is the paffage that Longinus particularly admires; and no doubt its fublimity is greatly owing to its concifenefs; but our poet enlarges upon it, endeavoring to give fome account how light was created the firft day, when the fun was not formed till the fourth day. He fays that it was *fpher'd in a radiant cloud*, and fo *journey'd round the earth in a cloudy tabernacle*; and herein he is juftify'd by the authority of fome commen-
 tators;

Ethereal, first of things, quintessence pure
 Sprung from the deep, and from her native east 245
 To journey through the aery gloom began,
 Spher'd in a radiant cloud, for yet the sun
 Was not; she in a cloudy tabernacle
 Sojourn'd the while. God saw the light was good;
 And light from darkness by the hemisphere 250
 Divided: light the day, and darkness night
 He nam'd. Thus was the first day ev'n and morn:
 Nor past uncelebrated, nor unsung
 By the celestial quires, when orient light
 Exhaling first from darkness they beheld; 225

Birth-

tators; though others think this light was the light of the sun, which shone as yet very imperfectly, and did not appear in full lustre till the fourth day. It is most probable, that by light (as it was produc'd the first day) we must not understand the darting of rays from a luminous body, such as do now proceed from the sun, but those particles of matter which we call *fire* (whose properties we know are *light* and *heat*) which the Almighty produc'd, as a proper instrument for the preparation and digestion of other matter. So Bishop Patrick upon the text. However it be, Milton's account is certainly very poetical, tho' you may not allow it to be the most philosophical, and is agreeable to the description before quoted from Vida. See Mr. Thyer's note upon ver. 211.

249. — *God saw the light was good; &c.*] What follows is little more than the words of Moses verifiy'd. *And God saw the light that it was good, and God divided the light from the darkness:* Milton adds how it was divided, *by the hemisphere,*

And light from darkness by the hemisphere
 Divided.

And God called the light day, and darkness he called night; and the evening and morning were the first day. Gen. I. 4, 5.

253. *Nor past uncelebrated, &c.*] The beauties of description lie so very thick, that it is almost impossible to enumerate them. The poet has employ'd on them the whole energy of our tongue. The several great scenes of the creation rise up
 to

Birth-day of Heav'n and Earth ; with joy and shout
 The hollow universal orb they fill'd,
 And touch'd their golden harps, and hymning prais'd
 God and his works, Creator him they sung,
 Both when first evening was, and when first morn.

Again, God said, Let there be firmament 261
 Amid the waters, and let it divide
 The waters from the waters : and God made
 The firmament, expanse of liquid, pure,
 Transparent, elemental air, diffus'd 265
 In circuit to the uttermost convex
 Of this great round : partition firm and sure,

The

to view one after another, in such a manner, that the reader seems present at this wonderful work, and to assist among the quires of Angels, who are the spectators of it. How glorious is the conclusion of the first day! Addison.

256. — with joy and shout

The hollow universal orb they fill'd,

The Angels singing and shouting for joy at the creation of the world seems to be founded upon Job XXXVIII. 4, 7. *Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth ; when the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy ?* And with this joy and shout *they fill'd the hollow universal orb*, the great round (as it is call'd ver. 267.) of the universe, hollow as being concave and having no creatures to inhabit it.

261. *Again, God said, &c.*] When he makes God speak, he adheres closely to the words of Scripture. *And God said, Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters.* Gen. I. 6. But when he says that *God made the firmament* he explains what is meant by the firmament. The Hebrew word, which the Greeks render by *σπερμα*, and our translators by firmament, signifies *expansion*: it is render'd *expansion* in the margin of our bibles, and Milton rightly explains it by *the expanse of elemental air*.

264. — *liquid air,*] Virg. Æn. VI.

202. *liquidumque per aera.*

267. — *partition firm and sure,*] For its certainty not solidity. St. Augustin upon Genesis. *It is not call'd firmament as being a solid body,*
but

The waters underneath from those above
 Dividing: for as earth, so he the world
 Built on circumfluous waters calm, in wide 270
 CrySTALLIN ocean, and the loud misrule
 Of Chaos far remov'd, left fierce extremes
 Contiguous might distemper the whole frame:
 And Heav'n he nam'd the firmament: So even
 And morning chorus sung the second day. 275

The

but because it is a bound or term between the upper and nether waters; a partition firm and immoveable, not upon account of its station, but of its firmness and intransgressibility.

Hume and Richardson.

268. *The waters underneath from those above*

Dividing:] They who understand the firmament to be the vast air, expanded and stretch'd out on all sides to the starry Heavens, esteem the waters above it to be those generated, in the middle region of the air, of vapors exhaled and drawn up thither from the steaming earth and nether waters; which descend again in such vast showers and mighty floods of rain, that not only rivers, but seas may be imaginable above, as appeared when the cataracts came down in a deluge, and the flood-gates of Heaven were open'd. Gen. VII. 11. Others, and those many, by these waters above understand the crystallin Heaven (by Gassendus made double) by our author better named crystallin ocean, by its clearness re-

sembling water. Who layeth the beams of his chambers in the waters. Psal. CIV. 3. Praise him ye Heavens of Heavens, and ye waters above the Heavens. Psal. CXLVIII. 4. To this sense our poet agrees, and thus infers, that as God built the earth, and founded it on waters (stretch'd out the earth above the waters. Psal. CXXXVI. 6. By the word of God the Heavens were of old, and the earth consisting out of the water and in the water. 2 Pet. III. 5.) so also he establish'd the whole frame of the heavenly orbs, in a calm crystallin sea surrounding it, lest the neighbourhood of the unruly Chaos should disturb it. But all search in works so wonderful, so distant and undiscernable, as well as undemonstrable, is quite confounded. Hume.

274. *And Heav'n he nam'd the firmament:] So Gen. I. 8. And God called the firmament Heaven. But it may seem strange if the firmament means the air and atmosphere, that the air should be called Heaven: but so it is frequently in the language*

The earth was form'd, but in the womb as yet
 Of waters, embryo immature involv'd,
 Appear'd not: over all the face of earth
 Main ocean flow'd, not idle, but with warm
 Prolific humor soft'ning all her globe,
 Fermented the great mother to conceive,
 Satiated with genial moisture, when God said
 Be gather'd now ye waters under Heaven

280

Into

guage of the Hebrews and in the style of Scripture. In this very chapter, ver. 20. it is said *fowl that may fly above the earth in the open firmament of Heaven.* So in Psal. CIV. 12. *By them shall the fowls of the Heaven have their habitation, which sing among the branches.* And Mat. VI. 26. what we translate *the fowls of the air* is in the original *the fowls of Heaven*, τα πτερινα του ουρανου. So again, Rev. XIX. 17. *the fowls that fly in the midst of Heaven.* And we read often in Scripture of *the rain of Heaven*, and *the clouds of Heaven.* The truth is there were three Heavens in the account of the Hebrews. Mention is made of *the third Heaven* 2 Cor. XII. 2. The first Heaven is the air, as we have shown, wherein the clouds move and the birds fly; the second is the starry Heaven, and the third Heaven is the habitation of the Angels and the seat of God's glory. Milton is speaking here of the first Heaven, as he mentions the others in other places.

282. — God said

Be gather'd now ye waters under Heaven
Into one place, and let dry land appear.] This is again exactly copied from Moses; *And God said, Let the waters under the Heaven be gathered together into one place, and let the dry land appear: and it was so.* Gen. I. 9. *And it was so* is very short in Moses; Milton enlarges upon it, as the subject will admit some fine strokes of poetry, and seems to have had his eye upon the CIVth Psalm, which is likewise a divine hymn in praise of the creation, 6th and following verses. *Thou coveredst the earth with the deep; the waters stood above the mountains. At thy rebuke they fled, at the voice of thy thander they hasted away. They go up by the mountains, they go down by the valleys unto the place which thou hast founded for them, &c.* We suppose that we need not desire the reader to remark the beautiful numbers in the following verses of the poem, how they seem to rise with the rising mountains, and to sink again with the falling waters.

285. Im-

Into one place, and let dry land appear.
 Immediately the mountains huge appear 285
 Emergent, and their broad bare backs upheave
 Into the clouds, their tops ascend the sky:
 So high as heav'd the tumid hills, so low
 Down sunk a hollow bottom broad and deep,
 Capacious bed of waters: thither they 290
 Hastened with glad precipitance, uproll'd
 As drops on dust conglobing from the dry;
 Part rise in crystal wall, or ridge direct,
 For haste; such flight the great command impress'd
 On the swift floods: as armies at the call 295
 Of trumpet (for of armies thou hast heard)
 Troop to their standard, so the watry throng,
 Wave rolling after wave, where way they found,

If

285. *Immediately the mountains &c.*] We have the same elevation of thought in the third day, when the mountains were brought forth, and the deep was made. We have also the rising of the whole vegetable world described in this day's work, which is filled with all the graces that other poets have lavish'd on their description of the spring, and leads the reader's imagination into a theatre equally surprising and beautiful. *Addison.*

299. *If steep, with torrent rapture,*] I have seen a marginal reading *with*

torrent rapture, as in ver. 419. we have *bursting with kindly rapture*. But we may understand *torrent rapture* in the same manner as *glad precipitance*, ver. 291.

303. *And on the washy ooze deep channels wore;*

Easy, ere God had bid the ground be dry, &c.] The earth was

just now emerg'd from the waters in which it had been wrapt; 'twas therefore all one great washy ooze, slime and mud. In this soft earth deep channels were easily worn by the streaming water, 'till 'twas dry every where

If steep, with torrent rapture, if through plain,
 Soft-ebbing; nor withstood them rock or hill, 300
 But they, or under ground, or circuit wide
 With serpent error wand'ring, found their way,
 And on the washy ooze deep channels wore;
 Easy, ere God had bid the ground be dry,
 All but within those banks, where rivers now 305
 Stream, and perpetual draw their humid train.
 The dry land, earth, and the great receptacle
 Of congregated waters he call'd seas:
 And saw that it was good, and said, Let th' earth
 Put forth the verdant grass, herb yielding seed, 310
 And fruit-tree yielding fruit after her kind,
 Whose seed is in herself upon the earth.
 He scarce had said, when the bare earth, till then

Desert

where but within the banks, the bounds set to the rivers, where they now perpetually draw along after them their moist train. The rivers are imagin'd as persons of great quality, the length of their robe training after them;

— where rivers now
 Stream, and perpetual draw their humid train.

You cannot read it otherwise than slowly, and so as to give your mind a picture of the thing describ'd. Many examples of the like kind are

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to be found in our author and all good poets. *Richardson.*

307. *The dry land, earth, &c.]* These are again the words of Genesis form'd into verse. Gen. I. 10, 11. *And God called the dry land earth, and the gathering together of the waters called he seas: and God saw that it was good. And God said, Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit-tree yielding fruit after his kind, whose seed is in itself upon the earth.* But when he comes to the descriptive part, he then opens a finer vein of poetry.

C

321. *The*

Desert and bare, unsightly, unadorn'd,
 Brought forth the tender grafs, whose verdure clad 315
 Her univerfal face with pleasant green,
 Then herbs of every leaf, that fudden flow'rd
 Opening their various colors, and made gay
 Her bosom fmelling sweet: and these scarce blown,
 Forth florish'd thick the cluftring vine, forth crept 320
 The fmelling gourd, up flood the corny reed
 Imbattel'd in her field, and th' humble shrub,
 And bush with frizled hair implicit: laft
 Rose as in dance the ftately trees, and spread 324
 Their branches hung with copious fruit, or gemm'd
 Their

321. *The fmelling gourd,*] A mere mistake of the printer: the author gave it *The fwelling gourd*; as Propertius, IV. II. 43.

Cæruleus cucumis tumidoque cucurbita ventre.

Those, that stily maintain that *fmelling* was Milton's word and interpret it the *melon*, seem not to attend, that he had the word *fmelling* two lines before, and would not have doubled it so soon again: and that he does not name here any particular plant, but whole tribes and species; the vine, the gourd, the reed, the shrub, the bush, the tree. *Gourds* are as numerous a family, as most of the other, and include the *melon* within the general name; which tho' it smells, it swells likewise. Bentley.

Dr. Bentley very justly reads here *The fwelling gourd*: and to the reasons which he gives, may be added, that Milton here assigns to each of the other tribes or species, an epithet which suits with all of the same species: but *fmelling*, tho' it suits with some kinds of the *gourd*, does not suit with all the particulars of that tribe, as *fwelling* does. Pearce. The mistake was easy of *sw* for *m*: and Dr. Bentley's emendation is certainly right; and to the authority which he has brought from Propertius we may add another from Virgil, Georg. IV. 121.

— tortusque per herbam
Cresceret in ventrem cucumis.

But we have not alter'd the text, as the common reading makes sense, tho' not such good sense as the other.

321. — the

Their blossoms: with high woods the hills were
crown'd,

With tufts the valleys, and each fountain side,
With borders long the rivers: that earth now
Seem'd like to Heav'n, a seat where Gods might dwell,
Or wander with delight, and love to haunt 330

Her sacred shades: though God had yet not rain'd
Upon the earth, and man to till the ground
None was, but from the earth a dewy mist
Went up and water'd all the ground, and each
Plant of the field, which ere it was in th' earth 335
God made, and every herb, before it grew

On

321. ——— *the corny reed*] The
horny reed stood upright among the
undergrowths of nature, like a grove
of spears or a battalion with its pikes
aloft. *Corneus* (Latin) of or like
horn, Virg. *Æn.* III. 22.

*Forte fuit juxta tumulus, quo cornea
fummo
Virgulta, et densis hastilibus horrida
myrtus. Hume.*

323. — *with frizzled hair im-
plicit:*] *Hair, coma* in Latin,
is used for leaves, twigs and branches,
and *implicit* signifies intangled. The
subject is low, and therefore he is
forc'd to raise the expression.

325. — *or gemm'd*
Their blossoms:] Put forth their
blossoms, of *gemmare* (Latin) to bud
forth. *Hume.*

Dr. Bentley thinks it plain that Mil-
ton gave it *or gemm'd with blossoms*;
taking *gemm'd* for a participle as
hung is. But *gemm'd* may be a verb,
as *spread* is. And to *gem their blos-
soms* is an expression of the same
poetical cast with that in IV. 219.
blooming ambrosial fruit. Pearce.

331. — *though God had yet not
rain'd &c.*] This is not taken,
as the rest, from the first, but from
the second chapter of Genesis; but
the poet was studious to weave in
all that Moses had written of the
creation. Gen. II. 4, 5, 6. *In the
day that the Lord God made the Earth
and the Heavens, and every plant of
the field before it was in the earth,
and every herb of the field before it
grew: for the Lord God had not caused
it to rain upon the earth, and there*

C 2

was

On the green stem ; God saw that it was good :
So ev'n and morn recorded the third day.

Again th' Almighty spake, Let there be lights
High in th' expanse of Heaven to divide 340
The day from night ; and let them be for signs,
For seasons, and for days, and circling years,
And let them be for lights as I ordain
Their office in the firmament of Heaven
To give light on the earth ; and it was so. 345
And God made two great lights, great for their use
To Man, the greater to have rule by day,

The

was not a man to till the ground : but there went up a mist from the earth, and water'd the whole face of the ground.

338. *So ev'n and morn recorded the third day.] Recorded, celebrated, caus'd to be remember'd. This was done by the even and morning chorus (ver. 275.) with evening harps and matin (ver. 450.) What is done by the voices and instruments is poetically ascrib'd to the time in which they were employ'd.*

Richardson.

339. *Again th' Almighty spake, Let there be lights &c.] Gen. I. 14, 15. And God said, Let there be lights in the firmament of the Heaven, to divide the day from the night ; and let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and years : And let them be for lights in the firmament of the Heaven, to give light upon the*

earth : and it was so. We see, when he makes the divine Person speak, he still keeps close to Scripture ; but afterwards he indulges a greater latitude of thought, and gives freer scope to his imagination.

346. *And God made two great lights,] The several glories of the Heavens make their appearance on the fourth day. Addison. The very words of Moses, And God made two great lights ; not that they were greater than all other stars and planets, but are only greater lights with reference to Man, and therefore Milton judiciously adds,*

*— great for their use
To Man, the greater to have rule
by day,
The less by night altern ;*

that is alternate, a word added to Moses his account, as in their vicissitude

The less by night altern ; and made the stars,
 And set them in the firmament of Heaven
 To' illuminate the earth, and rule the day 350
 In their vicissitude, and rule the night,
 And light from darkness to divide. God saw,
 Surveying his great work, that it was good :
 For of celestial bodies first the sun
 A mighty sphere he fram'd, unlightsome first, 355
 Though of ethereal mold : then form'd the moon
 Globose, and every magnitude of stars,
 And sow'd with stars the Heav'n thick as a field :

Of

situde is afterwards ; the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night : he made the stars also. And God set them in the firmament of the Heaven, to give light upon the earth, and to rule over the day, and over the night, and to divide the light from the darkness : and God saw that it was good. Gen. I. 16, 17, 18. So far, we see, he keeps close to Scripture, but then he lanches out, and says that *of celestial bodies the sun was first fram'd, and then the moon and stars*, observing this order of creation, we suppose, according to the degrees of usefulness to men. The sun, he says, was *unlightsome first* ; and it is most probable, that the bodies of the sun and moon &c were formed at the same time as the body of the earth on the first day, but they were not made those complete luminous bodies, they did not shine

out in their full lustre and glory till the fourth day, the air perhaps or atmosphere not being sufficiently clear'd before to transmit their rays to the earth. Milton's hypothesis is different. He says that the *light was transplanted from her cloudy shrine or tabernacle*, wherein she had sojourn'd the three first days, and on the fourth day was *plac'd in the sun's orb*, which was become *now the great palace of light*. But let it be remember'd that this is all hypothesis, and that the Scripture determines nothing one way or another.

358. *And sow'd with stars the Heav'n thick as a field:*] This allusion is extremely elegant. Manil. V. 726.

Tunc conferta licet cœli fulgentia
 templa

C 3

Cernere

Of light by far the greater part he took,
 Transplanted from her cloudy shrine, and plac'd 360
 In the sun's orb, made porous to receive
 And drink the liquid light, firm to retain
 Her gather'd beams, great palace now of light.
 Hither as to their fountain other stars
 Repairing, in their golden urns draw light, 365
 And

Cernere feminibus densis, totisque
 micare
 Floribus :

where Milton seems to have read *conferta*, which is much more beautiful; and his reading seems to be proved by the word *densis*, which would be unnecessary, and even bad with the word *conferta*.

Richardson.

361. — *made porous to receive*
And drink the liquid light, firm to
retain

Her gather'd beams,] Porous yet firm. Milton seems to have taken this thought from what is said of the Bologna stone, which being plac'd in the light will imbibe, and for some time retain it so as to inlighten a dark place.

Richardson.

362. *And drink the liquid light,*] Dr Bentley finds fault with the word *light* being repeated so often, and in two places substitutes some other expression in the room of it; but when Milton was describing the creation of light, it was better (as Dr. Pearce judiciously observes) to keep strictly to the word, tho' fre-

quently repeated, than to vary it by phrases and circumlocutions.

364. *Hither as to their fountain*
other stars] So the sun is called by Lucretius, V. 282. the fountain of light, of *liquid light*.

Largus item liquidi fons luminis,
 æthereus sol

Irrigat assidue cœlum candore recenti :

and by *other stars* are meant the planets, as appears by mentioning particularly *the morning planet Venus*.

And hence the morning planet gilds
 her horns ;

In the first edition it was *his horns*, but the author in the second edition soften'd it into *her horns*, which is certainly properer for the planet Venus, tho' Dr. Bentley and Mr. Fenton have still printed it *his horns*.

370. *First in his east the glorious*
lamp was seen,] It is indeed a little inaccurate to make this as well as the former verse conclude with the word *seen*; but this is not so bad as when both verses rime together, as in II. 220.

This

And hence the morning planet gilds her horns;
 By tincture or reflection they augment
 Their small peculiar, though from human fight
 So far remote, with diminution seen.

First in his east the glorious lamp was seen, 370
 Regent of day, and all th' horizon round
 Invested with bright rays, jocond to run

His

This horror will grow mild, this
 darkness light;
 Besides what hope the never-ending
 flight:

and in VI. 34.

— far worse to bear
 Than violence; for this was all
 thy care:

and 709.

By sacred unction, thy deserved
 right.

Go then thou mightiest in thy Fa-
 ther's might:

and in XI. 230.

One of the heav'nly host, and by
 his gate

None of the meanest, some great
 potentate:

and 597.

The bent of nature; which he thus
 express'd.

True-opener of mine eyes, prime
 Angel blest.

There are perhaps two or three other
 instances in the poem: but the jingle
 of the rime is pretty well avoided
 by the pause in the verses, or by
 their running into one another.

However it would have been more
 artificial, if the structure had been
 different. We know very well that
 there are parallel instances even in
 Homer and Virgil; but tho' some
 may think them beauties in Greek
 and Latin, we think them none in
 an English poem professedly written
 in blank verse. In all such cases
 we must say with Horace, *De Arte*
Poet. 351.

Verum ubi plura nitent in carmine,
non ego paucis

Offendar maculis, quas aut incuria
fudit,

Aut humana parum cavit natura.

372. — jocond to run

His longitude through Heav'n's high
road;] Dr. Bentley calls *longi-*
tude here mere nonsense; and there-
 fore reads *His long career through &c.*
 But we must not part with *longitude*
 so easily: it signifies the sun's course
 from east to west in a strait and di-
 rect line: and we find Milton using
 the word after much the same man-
 ner in III. 576. This Passage alludes
 to Psal. XIX. 5. where it is said of
 the sun, that *he rejoiceth as a giant to*
run his course. Pearce.

C 4

373. — the

His longitude through Heav'n's high road ; the gray
 Dawn, and the Pleiades before him danc'd
 Shedding sweet influence ; less bright the moon, 375
 But opposit in level'd west was set
 His mirror, with full face borrowing her light
 From him, for other light she needed none
 In that aspect, and still that distance keeps
 Till night, then in the east her turn she shines, 380
 Revolv'd on Heav'n's great axle, and her reign

With

373.

— *the gray
 Dawn, and the Pleiades before him
 danc'd*

Shedding sweet influence:] These are beautiful images, and very much resemble the famous picture of the morning by Guido, where the sun is represented in his chariot, with the Aurora flying before him shedding flowers, and seven beautiful nymph-like figures dancing before and about his chariot, which are commonly taken for the Hours, but possibly may be the *Pleiades*, as they are seven in number, and it is not easy to assign a reason why the Hours should be signified by that number particularly. The picture is on a cieling at Rome; but there are copies of it in England, and an excellent print by Jac. Frey. The *Pleiades* are seven stars in the neck of the constellation Taurus, which rising about the time of the vernal equinox, are called by the Latins *Ver-gilix*. Our poet therefore in saying that the *Pleiades* danc'd before the

sun at his creation, intimates very plainly that the creation was in the spring according to the common opinion. Virg. Georg. II. 338, &c.

— Ver illud erat; ver magnus agebat

Orbis, et hibernis parcebant flatibus Euri,

Cum primæ lucem pecudes hausere, &c.

And when he farther adds *shedding sweet influence*, it is in allusion to Job XXXVIII. 31. *Canst thou bind the sweet influences of Pleiades?*

387. *And God said, &c.]* This and eleven verses following are almost word for word from Genesis I. 20, 21, 22. *And God said, Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life, and fowl that may fly above the earth in the open firmament of Heaven. And God created great whales, and every living creature that moveth, which the waters brought forth abundantly,*

after

With thousand lesser lights dividual holds,
 With thousand thousand stars, that then appear'd
 Spangling the hemisphere: then first adorn'd
 With their bright luminaries that set and rose, 385
 Glad evening and glad morn crown'd the fourth day.

And God said, Let the waters generate
 Reptil with spawn abundant, living soul:
 And let fowl fly above the earth, with wings
 Display'd on the' open firmament of Heaven. 390

And

after their kind, and every winged fowl after his kind: and God saw that it was good. And God blessed them, saying, Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the waters in the seas, and let fowl multiply in the earth. This is the general account of the fifth day's creation, and the poet afterwards branches it out into the several particulars.

388. *Reptil with spawn abundant, living soul:*] By *reptil* is meant *creeping thing*; and according to the marginal reading of our English version, Gen. I. 20. (which follows the LXX version here) *creeping things* are said to have been created on this fifth day. Le Clerc too with the generality of interpreters renders the Hebrew word by *reptil*. To this Dr. Bentley objects that *creeping things* were created on the sixth day, according to the account given us both by Moses and by Milton himself. But by *reptil* or *creeping thing* here Milton means all such

creatures as move in the waters, (see Le Clerc's note on Gen. I. 20.) and by *creeping thing* mention'd in the sixth day's creation he means *creeping things of the earth*; for so both in Milton's account, ver. 452. and in Gen. I. 24. the words *of the earth* are to be join'd in construction to *creeping thing*. Hence the Doctor's objection is answer'd by saying that they were not the same *creeping things* which Milton mentions in the two places. But let us hear how the Doctor proposes to mend the passage,

— Let the waters generate,
Replete with spawn abundant, living
 soul:

This reading cannot possibly be admitted, without making Milton's words imply (contrary to the fact) that the *spawn* was præexistent to this fifth day's creation, and the waters were *replete* with it, before God said *Let the waters generate &c.*

Pearce.

400. *With*

And God created the great whales, and each
 Soul living, each that crept, which plenteously
 The waters generated by their kinds,
 And every bird of wing after his kind; 394
 And saw that it was good, and blest'd them, saying,
 Be fruitful, multiply, and in the seas
 And lakes and running streams the waters fill;
 And let the fowl be multiply'd on th' earth.
 Forthwith the founts and seas, each creek and bay
 With fry innumerable swarm, and shoals 400
 Of

400. *With fry innumerable swarm,*
 &c.] One would wonder
 how the poet could be so concise in
 his description of the six days works,
 as to comprehend them within the
 bounds of an episode, and at the
 same time so particular, as to give
 us a lively idea of them. This is
 still more remarkable in his account
 of the fifth and sixth days, in which
 he has drawn out to our view the
 whole animal creation from the rep-
 til to the behemoth. As the lion
 and the leviathan are two of the
 noblest productions in the world of
 living creatures, the reader will find
 a most exquisite spirit of poetry in
 the account which our author gives
 us of them. The sixth day concludes
 with the formation of Man, upon
 which the Angel takes occasion, as
 he did after the battel in Heaven,
 to remind Adam of his obedience,
 which was the principal design of
 this his visit.

Addison.

402. — *in sculls that oft*
Bank the mid sea:] Shoals of fish
 so vast, that they appear like mighty
 banks in the midst of the sea. *Sculls*
 and *shoals* are vast multitudes of fish,
 of the Saxon *sceole*, an assembly.

Hume.

Shoals *in* sculls seems an odd expres-
 sion; would not shoals *and* sculls be
 better?

404. — *and through groves*
Of coral stray,] Coral is a pro-
 duction of the sea, and is commonly
 rank'd among the number of marine
 plants. The learned Kercher sup-
 poses entire forests of it to grow at
 the bottom of the sea, which may
 justify our author's expression of
groves of Coral. The Ancients be-
 liev'd that it was soft under the wa-
 ter and harden'd in the air. Ovid
 has express'd this notion very pret-
 tily in Met. IV. 750.

Nunc

Of fish that with their fins and shining scales
 Glide under the green wave, in sculls that oft
 Bank the mid sea: part single or with mate
 Graze the sea weed their pasture, and through groves
 Of coral stray, or sporting with quick glance 405
 Show to the sun their wav'd coats dropt with gold,
 Or in their pearly shells at ease, attend
 Moist nutriment, or under rocks their food
 In jointed armour watch: on smooth the seal,
 And bended dolphins play: part huge of bulk 410
 Wal-

Nunc quoque curaliis eadem natura
 remansit,
 Duritiem tacto capiant ut ab aëre;
 quodque
 Vimen in æquore erat, fiat super
 æquora saxum.

The pliant sprays of coral yet declare
 Their stiffening nature, when expos'd
 to air.
 Those sprays, which did like
 bending osiers move,
 Snatch'd from their element, ob-
 durate prove,
 And shrubs beneath the waves,
 grow stones above. Eusden.

But later discoveries have shown, that
 only the extremities of the branches
 are a little soft in the water, and
 soon petrify in the air.

409. *In jointed armour*] The reader cannot but be pleas'd with the beauty of this metaphor. The shells of lobsters &c, and armour very

much resemble one another; and in the civil wars there was a regiment of horse so completely arm'd, that they were call'd Sir Arthur Hasle-rig's *lobsters*. Possibly Milton might be thinking of them at this very time.

409. — *on smooth the seal,*
And bended dolphins play:] The seal or sea-calf and the dolphin are observed to sport on *smooth* seas in calm weather. The dolphin is called *bended*, not that he really is so more than any other fish, but only appears crooked, as he forms an arch by leaping out of the water and instantly dropping into it again with his head foremost. Ovid therefore describes him *tergo delphina recurvo*. *Fast.* II. 113. and his sportive nature is alluded to by Virgil. *Æn.* V. 594.

Delphinum fimiles; qui per maria
 humida nando
 Carpathium Libycumque secant,
luduntque per undas.

And

Wallowing unwieldy', enormous in their gate
 Tempest the ocean: there leviathan,
 Hugest of living creatures, on the deep
 Stretch'd like a promontory sleeps or swims
 And seems a moving land, and at his gills 415
 Draws in, and at his trunk spouts out a sea.
 Mean while the tepid caves, and fens and shores
 Their brood as numerous hatch, from th' egg that soon

Bursting

And how smooth is the verse that describes the seal and dolphin sporting upon the smooth water!

— on smooth the seal,
 And bended dolphins play:

It is much finer than if it had all been express'd in a single line. The verse is bent, as I may say, to be better suited to the bended dolphin: as in the rough measures following one almost sees porpoises and other unwieldy creatures tumbling about in the ocean.

412. *Tempest the ocean:*] Milton has here with very great art and propriety adopted the Italian verb *tempestare*. He could not possibly have expressed this idea in mere English without some kind of circumlocution, which would have weaken'd and enervated that energy of expression which this part of his description requir'd. Besides no word could be more proper in the beginning of the verse to make it labor like the troubled ocean, which he is painting out. *Thyer.*

412. — *there leviathan,*] The

best critics and commentators upon Job by the *leviathan* understand the *crocodile*, and Milton in several particulars describes the *leviathan* like the author of the book of Job, and yet by others it seems as if he meant the *whale*. See the note upon Book I. 200.

416. — *and at his trunk spouts out a sea.*]

Et acceptum patulis mare naribus efflant. Ovid. Met. III. 686.

421. *They summ'd their pens,*] *Pens* from *penna* a feather. *Summ'd* is a term in falconry; a hawk is said to be full summ'd, when his feathers are grown to their full strength. So Par. Reg. I. 14.

With prosp'rous wing full summ'd.
 Richardson.

422. *With clang despis'd the ground, under a cloud*

In prospect;] That is, the birds were so many that the ground, from whence they rose, would have appeared to be under a cloud, if one had seen it at a distance: in this sense we have ver. 555. *how it (the world) show'd*

Bursting with kindly rupture forth disclos'd
 Their callow young, but feather'd soon and fledge 420
 They summ'd their pens, and soaring th' air sublime
 With clang despis'd the ground, under a cloud
 In prospect; there the eagle and the stork
 On cliffs and cedar tops their eyries build:
 Part loosely wing the region, part more wise 425
 In common, rang'd in figure wedge their way,

Intelligent

in prospect *from his throne.* Pearce. Under a cloud, the ground being shaded by the multitude of birds seem'd as when a cloud passes over it. Richardson.

423. — *there the eagle and the stork On cliffs and cedar tops their eyries build:]* These birds build *their eyries*, that is their nests in such high places. In Job XXXIX. 27, 28. it is said particularly of the eagle, *Doth the eagle mount up at thy command, and make her nest on high? She dwelleth and abideth on the rock, upon the crag of the rock, and the strong place.* And Pliny says of them, *Nidificant in petris et arboribus.* L. 10. Sect. 4.

426. — *— rang'd in figure wedge their way,]* Pliny has described certain birds of passage, flying in the form of a wedge, and spreading wider and wider. Those behind rest upon those before, till the leaders being tir'd are in their turn receiv'd into the rear. *A tergo sensim dilatante se cuneo porrigitur agmen, largèque impellenti præbetur auræ. Colla imponunt præce-*

dentibus: fessos duces ad terga recipiunt. Nat. Hist. L. 10. Sect. 32. But as this migration of birds is one of the most wonderful instincts of nature, it may be proper to add some better authorities to explain and justify our author than Pliny. Jerem. VIII. 7. takes notice of this remarkable instinct; *Yea the stork in the Heaven knoweth her appointed times, and the turtle, and the crane, and the swallow observe the time of their coming, &c.* So very intelligent are they of seasons. And as Milton instances in the crane particularly, we will quote what the ingenious author of *Spectacle de la Nature* says upon this occasion. Dial. XI. "As
 " to wild ducks and cranes, both the
 " one and the other at the approach
 " of winter fly in quest of more
 " favorable climates. They all as-
 " semble at a certain day like swal-
 " lows and quails. They decamp
 " at the same time, and 'tis very
 " agreeable to observe their flight.
 " They generally range themselves
 " in a long column like an I, or
 " in two lines united in a point like

Intelligent of seasons, and set forth
 Their aery caravan high over seas
 Flying, and over lands with mutual wing
 Easing their flight; so steers the prudent crane 430
 Her annual voyage, borne on winds; the air

Flotes,

"a V reversed." And so as Milton
 says,

—rang'd in figure wedge their way.

"The duck or quail, who forms
 "the point, cuts the air, and faci-
 "litates a passage to those who
 "follow; but he is charged with
 "this commission only for a certain
 "time, at the conclusion of which
 "he wheels into the rear, and ano-
 "ther takes his post." And thus
 as Milton says,

— with mutual wing
 Easing their flight.

435. — *nor then the solemn nightin-
 gale &c.*] Of all singing birds,
 we see that he instances in the *night-
 ingale* particularly; and his fondness
 for this little bird is very remarkable,
 and he expresses it upon every oc-
 casion. If the reader has not taken
 particular notice of it, he will be
 surpris'd as well as pleas'd to see in
 how many passages and with what
 admiration he speaks of this charm-
 ing songster. He compares his own
 making verses in his blindness to the
 nightingale's singing in the dark,
 III. 37.

Then feed on thoughts, that volun-
 tary move

Harmonious numbers; as the wake-
 ful bird

Sings darkling, and in shadiest co-
 vert hid

Tunes her nocturnal note.

In that charming description of even-
 ing, IV. 598. nothing can be more
 charming than what is said of the
 nightingale.

Silence accompanied; for beast and
 bird,

They to their grassy couch, these
 to their nests

Were flunk; all but the wakeful
 nightingale;

She all night long her amorous de-
 scent sung;

Silence was pleas'd.

In that tender speech of Eve's to
 Adam, IV. 639.

With thee conversing I forget all
 time, &c

amongst other pleasing images he
 mentions twice

— the silent night
 With this her solemn bird.

And Adam and Eve are made to
 sleep *lull'd by nightingales*, IV. 771.

These, lull'd by nightingales, em-
 bracing slept,

And

Flotes, as they pass, fann'd with unnumber'd plumes :
 From branch to branch the smaller birds with song
 Solac'd the woods, and spread their painted wings
 Till ev'n, nor then the solemn nightingale 435
 Ceas'd warbling, but all night tun'd her soft lays :

Others

And on their naked limbs the
 flow'ry roof
 Show'd roses, which the morn
 repair'd.

And when the evil Spirit tempts Eve
 in her dream, he mentions this as
 one of the strongest temptations to
 induce her to walk out in the cool
 evening, V. 38.

Why sleep'st thou Eve? now is the
 pleasant time,
 The cool, the silent, save where
 silence yields
 To the night-warbling bird, that
 now awake
 Tunes sweetest his love-labor'd song.

And here where the poet is describing
 the creation of all the sorts and species
 of fowl, of singing birds he parti-
 cularizes the nightingale alone.

From branch to branch the smaller
 birds with song
 Solac'd the woods, and spread their
 painted wings
 Till ev'n, nor then the solemn
 nightingale
 Ceas'd warbling, but all night tun'd
 her soft lays.

And upon Adam's and Eve's first
 coming together the nightingale sung
 the epithalamium or wedding song,
 VIII. 518.

— The amorous bird of night
 Sung spousal, and bid haste the
 evening star
 On his hill-top to light the bridal
 lamp.

Other poets mention the nightingale
 perhaps by way of simile, but none
 of them dwells, or delights to dwell,
 so much upon it as our author. And
 he expresses the same fondness and
 admiration in other parts of his
 works. We will give an instance
 out of the *Il Penseroso* as it is rather
 more particular than the rest,

And the mute silence hift along,
 'Lefs Philomel will deign a song,
 In her sweetest, saddest plight,
 Smoothing the rugged brow of
 night.

Sweet bird that shunn'st the noise
 of folly,
 Most musical, most melancholy!
 'Thee chauntrests oft the woods
 among

I woo to hear thy even-song;
 And missing thee, I walk unseen
 On the dry smooth-shaven green,
 To behold the wand'ring moon
 Riding near her highest noon.

And in his sonnets the first is ad-
 dress'd *To the nightingale*.

Others on silver lakes and rivers bath'd
 Their downy breast; the swan with arched neck
 Between her white wings mantling proudly, rows
 Her state with oary feet; yet oft they quit 440
 The dank, and rising on stiff pennons, tower
 The mid aerial sky: Others on ground
 Walk'd firm; the crested cock whose clarion sounds
 The silent hours, and th' other whose gay train
 Adorns him, color'd with the florid hue 445
 Of rainbows and starry' eyes. The waters thus
 With fish replenish'd, and the air with fowl,
 Evening and morn solemniz'd the fifth day.

The

438. — *the swan with arched neck*] The ancient poets have not hit upon this beauty, so lavish as they have been in their descriptions of the swan. Homer calls the swan long-neck'd *δρακονοειπον*, but how much more *pittoresque* if he had arched this length of neck! *her wings mantling proudly*, her wings are then a little detach'd from her sides, rais'd and spread as a mantle; which she does with an apparent pride, as is also seen in her whole figure, attitude, and motion. *Richardson*. Dr. Bentley wonders that he should make the swan of the feminine gender, contrary to both Greek and Latin. I suppose he did it, because he thought it would be more agreeable to the ear. *Rows his state* sounds rather too rough.

450. — *when God said, &c.*] So Gen. I. 24. *And God said, Let the earth bring forth the living creature after his kind, cattle and creeping thing, and beast of the earth after his kind.* We observ'd before, that when Milton makes the divine Person speak, he keeps closely to Scripture. Now what we render *living creature* is *living soul* in the Hebrew, which Milton usually follows rather than our translation; and *soul* it should be here as in ver. 388. *living soul*, and 392. *soul living*. It is indeed *fowl* in all the printed copies,

Let th' earth bring forth *fowl* living in her kind:

but Dr. Bentley, Dr. Pearce, Mr. Richardson, and common sense, all condemn this reading; it is manifestly

The sixth, and of creation last arose
 With evening harps and matin, when God said, 450
 Let th' earth bring forth soul living in her kind,
 Cattel and creeping things, and beast of th' earth,
 Each in their kind. The earth obey'd, and strait
 Opening her fertile womb teem'd at a birth
 Innumerable living creatures, perfect forms, 455
 Limb'd and full grown: out of the ground up rose
 As from his lair the wild beast where he wons
 In forest wild, in thicket, brake, or den;
 Among the trees in pairs they rose, they walk'd:
 The cattel in the fields and meadows green: 460
 Those

festly nothing but an error of the press that has run through all the editions; for *fowl* were all created the day before, and not on this day. We have therefore restor'd the true genuin reading,

Let th' earth bring forth *soul* living
 in her kind.

We are very cautious in admitting any alterations into the text of Milton; but in correcting such mistakes as this we conceive we do no more than Milton himself would have us do; who, after the table of Errata in the first edition, says, *Other literal faults the reader of himself may correct*. And for the same reason we agree with Dr. Bentley, that in the next verse it should be *creeping thing* rather than *things*, because it

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is more conformable to the text of Scripture.

Cattel and *creeping thing*, and beast
 of th' earth.

456. — *out of the ground up rose*
As from his lair the wild beast
where he wons

In forest wild,] *Lair*, or *layer*, an old Saxon word signifying a *bed*. The use of this word is still kept up among us, as when we call the different strata or beds of earth, some of clay, some of chalk, some of stone &c *lairs*. *Wons* is an old Saxon word signifying to *dwell* or *inhabit*. Dr. Bentley reads *In forest wide*, instead of *wild*, *wild beast* going before; but Milton does not dislike such a repetition of the same word.

D

461. *Those*

Those rare and solitary, these in flocks
 Pasturing at once, and in broad herds upsprung.
 The grassy clods now calv'd, now half appear'd
 The tawny lion, pawing to get free 464
 His hinder parts, then springs as broke from bonds,
 And rampant shakes his brinded mane; the ounce,
 The libbard, and the tiger, as the mole
 Rising, the crumbled earth above them threw
 In hillocks: the swift stag from under ground 469
 Bore up his branching head: scarce from his mold
 Behemoth

461. *Those rare and solitary, these in flocks*] *Those*, that is the wild beasts mention'd in ver. 457. *these* the tame, the *cattel*; and it is a very signal act of Providence that there are so few of the former sort, and so many of the latter, for the use and service of man.

462. — *broad herds*] This will sound a little strange to the ear of an English reader, who must therefore be told that he follows Homer literally. *Iliad*. XI. 678.

— *αιπολια πλατε' αυων.*

Virgil hath a long herd. *Æn*. I. 186.

— *et longum per valles pascitur agmen.* *Richardson.*

463. *The grassy clods now calv'd*] Dr. Bentley quarrels with this expression, and says that *calv'd* is a metaphor very heroical, especially for wild beasts. But as Dr. Pearce justly observes, to *calve* (from the Belgic word *Kalven*) signifies to bring forth: it is a general word,

and does not relate to cows only; for *binds* are said to *calve* in Job XXXIX. 1. and Psalm XXIX. 9. Mr. Addison particularly commends this metaphor: and the whole description of the beasts rising out of the earth, tho' Dr. Bentley condemns it as an insertion of the editor's, is certainly not only worthy of the genius of Milton, but may be esteem'd a shining part of the poem. He supposes the beasts to rise out of the earth, *in perfect forms, limb'd and full grown*, as Raphael had painted this subject before in the Vatican; and he describes their manner of rising in figures and attitudes, and in numbers too, suited to their various natures.

467. *The libbard*] The same as the leopard; a word used by Spenser and the old poets, *Fairy Queen*, B. I. Cant. 6. St. 25.

470. — *scarce from his mold Behemoth biggest born of earth upheav'd*

His

Behemoth biggest born of earth upheav'd
 His vastness : fleec'd the flocks and bleating rose,
 As plants : ambiguous between sea and land
 The river horse and scaly crocodile.
 At once came forth whatever creeps the ground, 475
 Insect or worm : those wav'd their limber fans
 For wings, and smallest lineaments exact
 In all the liveries deck'd of summer's pride
 With spots of gold and purple', azure and green :
 These as a line their long dimension drew, 480
 Streaking

His vastness:] The numbers are excellent, and admirably express the heaviness and unwieldiness of the elephant, for it is plainly the elephant that Milton means. *Behemoth* and *leviathan* are two creatures, described in the book of Job, and formerly the generality of interpreters understood by them the elephant and the whale : but the learned Bochart and other later critics have endeavor'd to show that *behemoth* is the river horse and *leviathan* the crocodile. It seems as if Milton was of the former opinion by mentioning *leviathan* among the fishes, and *the river horse and scaly crocodile*, ver. 474. as distinct from *behemoth* and *leviathan* ; and there is surely authority sufficient to justify a poet in that opinion. *Behemoth biggest born*. The alliteration, as the critics call it, is very remarkable, all the words beginning with *b*. We had another instance a little before in the production of the mountains, ver. 286.

— and their broad bare backs upheave
 Into the clouds.

It is the same kind of beauty that is admir'd in Virgil, *Æn.* I. 61.

Hoc metuens, molemque et montes in-
super altos
Imposuit.

It is the same stile of sound, and the verse labors as much with *broad bare backs* and *behemoth biggest born* as with *metuens, molem, montes*. And the labor of these lines appears greater in contrast with the ease of the following measures, which describe the lesser animals springing up as lightly and as thick as plants ;

— fleec'd the flocks and bleating
 rose,
 As plants.

478. — *deck'd]* It is a verb here and not a participle — *and deck'd their smallest lineaments exact in all the liveries &c.*

D 2

481. — not

Streaking the ground with sinuous trace; not all
 Minims of nature; some of serpent kind,
 Wondrous in length and corpulence, involv'd
 Their snaky folds, and added wings. First crept
 The parsimonious emmet, provident 485
 Of future, in small room large heart inclos'd,

Pattern

481. ——— not all
 Minims of nature; some of serpent
 kind,
 Wondrous in length and corpulence,
 involv'd

Their snaky folds, and added wings.]

These verses Dr. Bentley rejects: he thinks them so plainly spurious, that (as he says) the editor is here caught in the forgery. Let us see whether this be the case or not. *Snaky*, he says, is mere tautology, i. e. *Serpents* involv'd *serpentin* folds. But is not *serpent* a more general word than *snake*? does it not include all the creeping kind, at least several animals that are not *snakes* nor have *snaky folds*? If so, then the epithet *snaky* is no tautology. But what is *added wings*, says the Doctor? It means, had wings added to their long and corpulent bodies. Scarcely any thing is more common in poetry than to speak after this manner, which represents the creature as doing that which is done to it. So in IX. 515. a ship is said to *steer* and *shift her sail*. So in Virgil's *Georg.* II. 535. it is said of the city of Rome,

Septemque una sibi muro circum-
 dedit arces.

Did the city itself build the wall? no, but it had the wall built round its seven hills. If Milton afterwards, in ver. 495. &c mentions the *serpent* again, he mentions a particular species of the serpent kind; and with a plain view to make Adam more mindful of that animal which was to work his ruin and destruction. So that all the marks of forgery, which the Doctor discovers here, immediately disappear upon a careful examination of the passage.

Pearce.

482. *Minims of nature;*] This word *minims* is form'd from the adjective *minima*, and in allusion to the Vulgar Latin of Prov. XXX. 24. *Quatuor ista sunt minima terræ.* The word was in use before for an order of friars, *Minim*, *minimi*, so called from affected humility.

485. ——— *provident*
Of future,] As Horace says, Sat. I. I. 35.

Haud ignara ac non incauta futuri.
in small room large heart inclos'd,
Georg. IV. 83.

Ingentes animos angusto in pectore
 versant.

It is there said of the *bee*, and here applied to the *ant*.

487. Pat-

Pattern of just equality perhaps
 Hereafter, joined in her popular tribes
 Of commonalty: swarming next appear'd
 The female bee, that feeds her husband drone 490
 Deliciously, and builds her waxen cells
 With honey stor'd: the rest are numberless,

And

487. *Pattern of just equality*] We see that our author upon occasion discovers his principles of government. He enlarges upon the same thought in another part of his works. "Go to the ant, thou sluggard, saith Solomon; consider her ways and be wise; which having no prince, ruler, or lord, provides her meat in the summer, and gathers her food in the harvest: which evidently shows us, that they who think the nation undone without a king, tho' they look grave or haughty, have not so much true spirit and understanding in them as a pismire: neither are these diligent creatures hence concluded to live in lawless anarchy, or that commended, but are set the examples to imprudent and ungovern'd men, of a frugal and self-governing democracy or commonwealth; safer and more thriving in the joint providence and counsel of many industrious equals, than under the single domination of one imperious lord." See his *Ready and easy way to establish a free commonwealth*, p. 591. Edit. 1738. He adds perhaps hereafter, as he had no hopes of it at that time. He commends the ants or emmets for living in a

republic, as the bees are said to do under a monarchy; and therefore Mr. Pope says, *Essay on Man*, III. 186.

The ants republic, and the realm of bees.

490. *The female bee, that feeds her husband drone*

Deliciously, and builds her waxen cells] Dr. Bentley would

throw out part of these verses and read thus,

Th' industrious bee that builds her waxen cells.

The *drone* (says he) is not the *bee's* husband; and that *bees* are all *females*, seems an idle and idiotical notion, against the course and rule of nature. But (however that be) both those opinions had been strenuously maintain'd by Mr. Charles Butler in the fourth Chapter of his curious treatise upon bees, intitled *The Feminine Monarchie*, printed in 1634: and it seems to have been the prevailing doctrine in Milton's days. No need then to suspect the editor's hand here. *Pearce.*

There has been lately publish'd in French a natural history of bees, *Histoire naturelle des abeilles &c.* D 3 Paris

And thou their natures know'st, and gav'st them names,
 Needleſs to thee repeated ; nor unknown
 The ſerpent ſubtleſt beaſt of all the field, 495
 Of huge extent ſometimes, with brazen eyes
 And hairy mane terrific, though to thee
 Not noxious, but obedient at thy call.

Now Heav'n in all her glory ſhone, and roll'd
 Her motions, as the great firſt Mover's hand 500
 Firſt

Paris 1744. wherein the curious author has collected all that Swammerdam and others have written upon the ſubject. He ſays that in a hive there is commonly one queen, and perhaps a thouſand males called drones, and near 20000 working bees of no ſex that can be diſtinguiſh'd. The queen or mother bee is longer than the reſt, and will produce one year with another from thirty to forty thouſand bees. The drones or huſbands of this queen, except when they are paying their duty to her, live idly and luxuriouſly upon the fineſt honey, whereas the common bees live in great meaſure upon wax ; and the queen herſelf will condeſcend to wait upon the drones, and bring them honey ; and ſo, as Milton expreſſes it, *feeds her huſband drone deliciously*.

497. *And hairy mane terrific,*] Virgil in like manner attributes a mane to ſerpents, *Æn.* II. 206.

———— *jubæque*
Sanguineæ exuperant undas.

505. *There wanted yet the maſter work, &c.*] The author here remember'd and copied Ovid, *Met.* I. 76.

Sanctius his animal, mentisque capacius altæ

Deerat adhuc, et quod dominari in cætera poſſet. —

—— *Finit in effigiem moderantum cuncta Deorum.*

Pronaque cum ſpectent animalia cætera terram,

Os homini ſublime dedit ; cælumque tueri

Juffit, et erectos ad fidera tollere vultus.

A creature of a more exalted kind
 Was wanting yet, and then was
 Man deſign'd :

Conſcious of thought, of more capacious breaſt,
 For empire form'd, and fit to rule
 the reſt. —

— Thus while the mute creation
 downward bend
 Their fight, and to their earthly
 mother tend,

Man

First wheel'd their course ; earth in her rich attire
 Consummate lovely smil'd ; air, water, earth,
 By fowl, fish, beast, was flown, was swum, was walk'd
 Frequent ; and of the sixth day yet remain'd ;
 There wanted yet the master work, the end 505
 Of all yet done ; a creature who not prone
 And brute as other creatures, but indued
 With sanctity of reason, might erect

His

Man looks aloft, and with erected
 'eyes
 Beholds his own hereditary skies.

Dryden.

506. — *a creature who not prone
 And brute as other creatures, but
 indued*

With sanctity of reason,] Dr. Bentley finds great fault here, and alters the verses thus,

— *a creature who not prone
 To earth, nor mute, nor bestial, but
 indued
 With sanctity, speech, reason.*

I agree with him that Milton had Ovid in view, when he compos'd these verses. Let us see then what are the Doctor's objections against them. *Prone*, says he, barely put, does not express what Milton aim'd at from Ovid, *viz.*

*Pronaque cum spectent animalia
 cætera terram.*

It is true, that Ovid says more than *prone* : but Milton, who was perfectly skill'd in the force of Latin words, knew that *pronus* in Latin sufficiently express'd what Ovid thro' a redun-

dancy of stile had express'd by two more words *spectent terram*. Any good Latin dictionary will furnish the reader with examples of *pronus* us'd in this sense without any additional word ; and Milton himself uses it so again in VIII. 433. Why, as *other creatures* ? says the Doctor, when the Angels are *creatures* neither *prone*, nor *brute*. But does not Ovid's *animalia cætera* and Cicero's *cæteras animantes* in his *De Leg. L. 1.* warrant Milton's saying as *other creatures* ? Those *other creatures* can be none but such as Raphael had been describing the creation of ; and therefore Angels are excluded sufficiently from being understood here. [And Milton, I suppose, made use of the word *creatures* as *creature* went before ; *a creature not as other creatures.*] *With sanctity of reason* : what does *of* do here ? says the Doctor ; he would have us read *With sanctity and reason*. Ovid's words are these,

Sanctius his animal, mentisque capacius altæ.

D 4

And

His stature, and upright with front serene
 Govern the rest, self-knowing, and from thence 510
 Magnanimous to correspond with Heaven,
 But grateful to acknowledge whence his good
 Descends, thither with heart and voice and eyes
 Directed in devotion, to adore
 And worship God supreme, who made him chief 515
 Of all his works: therefore th' Omnipotent
 Eternal Father (for where is not he
 Present?) thus to his Son audibly spake.

Let us make now Man in our image, Man
 In our similitude, and let them rule 520
 Over the fish and fowl of sea and air,
 Beast of the field, and over all the earth,

And

And this verse our poet had in his mind, no doubt. But instead of merely copying from it, he has improv'd it by expressing Ovid's meaning in clearer and fewer words; for in Ovid the *sanctity* of the creature consists in its having *reason*, and this Milton better expresses by *sanctity of reason*. When the Doctor upon second thoughts proposes to read, *With sanctity, speech, reason*, he adds a circumstance not to be found in the Heathen poet, and therefore not intended (I presume) by Milton.

Pearce.

519. *Let us make now Man in our image, &c.*] The author keeps closely to Scripture in his account of the formation of Man as well as of the other creatures. *And God said, Let us make Man in our image, after our likeness; and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth. So God created Man in his own image, in the image of God created he him: male and female created he them. And God blessed them, and God said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it: and have dominion over the fish of the sea,*

And every creeping thing that creeps the ground.
 This said, he form'd thee, Adam, thee, O Man,
 Dust of the ground, and in thy nostrils breath'd 525
 The breath of life; in his own image he
 Created thee, in the image of God
 Express, and thou becam'st a living soul.
 Male he created thee, but thy consort
 Female for race; then blest'd mankind, and said, 530
 Be fruitful, multiply, and fill the earth,
 Subdue it, and throughout dominion hold
 Over fish of the sea, and fowl of th' air,
 And every living thing that moves on th' earth.
 Wherever thus created, for no place 535
 Is yet distinct by name, thence, as thou know'st,

He

sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth. Gen. I. 26, 27, 28. I have set down the passage at length, that the reader may compare the divine historian and the poet together. There are scarce any alterations, but what were requisite for the verse, or were occasion'd by the change of the person, as the Angel is speaking to Adam. And what additions are made, are plainly of the same original, as the reader may see by comparing both together. And the Lord God formed Man of the dust of the ground, and breath'd into his nostrils the breath of

life, and Man became a living soul. Gen. II. 7.

535. *Wherever thus created, &c.] The sacred text says that the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden; and there he put the Man whom he had formed, Gen. II. 8. And afterwards, ver. 15. And the Lord God took the Man, and put him into the garden of Eden to dress it and to keep it. This seems to imply that Man was created in some other place, and was afterwards brought into the garden of Eden; and therefore Milton says,*

Wherever thus created, for no place

Is

He brought thee into this delicious grove,
 This garden, planted with the trees of God,
 Delectable both to behold and taste;
 And freely all their pleasant fruit for food 540
 Gave thee; all sorts are here that all th' earth yields
 Variety without end; but of the tree,
 Which tasted works knowledge of good and evil,
 Thou may'st not; in the day thou eat'st, thou dy'st;
 Death is the penalty impos'd, beware, 545
 And govern well thy appetite, lest Sin
 Surprise thee, and her black attendant Death.

Here finish'd he, and all that he had made
 View'd, and behold all was entirely good;
 So ev'n and morn accomplish'd the sixth day: 550
 Yet

Is yet distinct by name, thence, as
 thou know'st,
 He brought thee into this delicious
 grove,
 This garden, &c.

Dr. Bentley and Mr. Fenton in their
 editions have pointed the passage
 wrong, and contrary to Milton's
 own editions, by putting a full stop
 before *thence*, where should be only
 a comma, and by putting a comma
 after this verse, where should be a
 full stop,

And every living thing that moves
 on th' earth,
 and so referring *wherever thus created*

to *every living thing*, whereas it
 should be join'd in construction with
*He brought thee; Wherever thus
 created, thence he brought thee &c.*

548. *Here finish'd he, and all that
 he had made*

View'd,] The pause is very re-
 markable, and admirably expresses
 the Creator surveying and contem-
 plating his work,

— *and behold all was entirely good;
 So ev'n and morn accomplish'd the
 sixth day.*

He finishes the account of the crea-
 tion, in the same manner as Moses,
 Gen. I. 31. *And God saw every
 thing*

Yet not till the Creator from his work
 Defisting, though unwearied, up return'd,
 Up to the Heav'n of Heav'ns his high abode,
 Thence to behold this new created world
 Th' addition of his empire, how it show'd 555
 In prospect from his throne, how good, how fair,
 Answering his great idea. Up he rode
 Follow'd with acclamation and the sound
 Symphonious of ten thousand harps that tun'd
 Angelic harmonies: the earth, the air 560
 Resounded, (thou remember'st, for thou heardst)
 The Heav'ns and all the constellations rung,
 The planets in their station list'ning stood,
 While the bright pomp ascended jubilant.

Open,

thing that he had made, and behold it was very good: And the evening and the morning were the sixth day.

551. *Yet not till the Creator &c.]*

The poet represents the Messiah returning into Heaven, and taking a survey of his great work. There is something inexpressibly sublime in this part of the poem, where the author describes that great period of time, filled with so many glorious circumstances; when the Heavens and Earth were finish'd; when the Messiah ascended up, in triumph thro' the everlasting gates; when he looked down with pleasure upon his new creation; when every part of

nature seem'd to rejoice in its existence; when the morning-stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy. Addison.

563. *The planets in their station list'ning stood,]* The word *station* is used in a more peculiar sense than usual. The *station* of a planet is a term of art, when the planet appears neither to go backwards nor forwards, but to stand still and keep the same place in its orbit. And what is said here of the stars and planets is somewhat in the same noble strain, as the song of Deborah, Judg. V. 20. *the stars in their courses fought against Sisera.*

565. *Open,*

Open, ye everlasting gates, they sung, 565
 Open, ye Heav'ns, your living doors; let in
 The great Creator from his work return'd
 Magnificent, his fix days work, a world;
 Open, and henceforth oft; for God will deign
 To visit oft the dwellings of just men 570
 Delighted, and with frequent intercourse
 Thither will send his winged messengers
 On errands of supernal grace. So sung
 The glorious train ascending: He through Heaven,
 That open'd wide her blazing portals, led 575
 To God's eternal house direct the way,
 A broad and ample road, whose dust is gold
 And pavement stars, as stars to thee appear,
 Seen in the galaxy, that milky way,
 Which nightly as a circling zone thou seest 580
 Powder'd with stars. And now on earth the seventh
 Evening

565. *Open, ye everlasting gates, &c.]*
 Psal. XXIV. 7. *Lift up your heads,*
O ye gates, and be ye lift up, ye ever-
lasting doors; and the king of glory
shall come in. This hymn was sung
 when the ark of God was carried
 up into the sanctuary on mount
 Sion, and is understood as a pro-
 phesy of our Saviour's ascension into
 Heaven; and therefore is fitly ap-

plied by our author to the same di-
 vine Person's ascending thither after
 he had created the world.

578. — *as stars to thee appear, &c.]*
 The pavement of Heaven was as
 thick set with stars, as stars appear
 in the galaxy or milky way, which
 is an assemblage of an infinite num-
 ber of little stars, seen distinctly
 with

Evening arose in Eden, for the sun
 Was set, and twilight from the east came on,
 Forerunning night; when at the holy mount
 Of Heav'n's high-seated top, th' imperial throne 585
 Of Godhead, fix'd for ever firm and sure,
 The Filial Pow'r arriv'd, and sat him down
 With his great Father, for he also went
 Invisibile, yet stay'd, (such privilege
 Hath Omnipresence) and the work ordain'd, 590
 Author and end of all things, and from work
 Now resting, blest'd and hallow'd the sev'nth day,
 As resting on that day from all his work,
 But not in silence holy kept; the harp
 Had work and rested not, the solemn pipe, 595
 And dulcimer, all organs of sweet stop,
 All sounds on fret by string or golden wire
 Temper'd soft tunings, intermix'd with voice

Choral

with a telescope, but too faint and remote to affect the eye singly.

591. — and from work

Now resting, blest'd and hallow'd
the sev'nth day,

As resting on that day from all
his work,] The reason assign'd

by Moses, and almost in the very words. Gen. II. 2, 3. God rested on the seventh day from all his work

which he created and made: and God blessed the seventh day and sanctify'd it, because that in it he had rested from all his work.

597. All sounds on fret by string or golden wire] On the finger-board of a bass-viol, for instance, are divisions athwart, by which the sound is regulated and varied. These divisions are called frets. Richardson.

599. — of

Choral or unison: of incense clouds
 Fuming from golden censers hid the mount. 600
 Creation and the six days acts they sung,
 Great are thy works, Jehovah, infinite
 Thy pow'r; what thought can measure thee or tongue
 Relate thee? greater now in thy return
 Than from the giant Angels; thee that day 605
 Thy thunders magnify'd; but to create
 Is greater than created to destroy.
 Who can impair thee, mighty King, or bound
 Thy empire? easily the proud attempt
 Of Spi'rits apostate and their counsels vain 610
 Thou

599. — of incense clouds
*Fuming from golden censers hid the
 mount.] The incense fuming from
 golden censers seems to be founded on
 Rev. VIII. 3, 4. And an Angel came
 and stood at the altar, having a
 golden censer; and the smoke of the
 incense ascended up before God out of
 the Angel's hand. Milton had seen
 too their manner of incensing in
 the churches abroad, and he seems
 to have approved something of it
 by transferring it to Heaven. And
 I have known some very good pro-
 testants wish that we had retain'd the
 moderate but not the superstitious use
 of incense in our churches, as think-
 ing it might contribute to the sweet-
 ness and salubrity of those places.*

602. *Great are thy works, Jeho-
 vah, &c.] Milton is gene-*

rally truly orthodox. In this hymn
 the Angels intimate the unity of the
 Son with the Father, singing to both
 as one God, Jehovah.

605. *Than from the giant Angels;]*
 Dr. Bentley reads *the rebel Angels*,
 thinking that the word *giant* insi-
 nuates as if this was as fabulous as
 that of Jove. But the word insi-
 nuates no such thing; it is used not
 to express the stature and size of the
 Angels, but that disposition of mind,
 which is always ascribed to giants,
viz. a proud, fierce, and aspiring
 temper. And this the Hebrew word
Gibbor signifies, which is render'd a
giant in Scripture. Pearce.

Dr. Pearce's construction of the word
giant, as if it meant only *fierce*,
proud, and *aspiring*, is in my opi-
 nion

Thou hast repell'd, while impiously they thought
 Thee to diminish, and from thee withdraw
 The number of thy worshippers. Who seeks
 To lessen thee, against his purpose serves
 To manifest the more thy might: his evil 615
 Thou usest, and from thence creat'st more good.
 Witness this new-made world, another Heaven
 From Heaven gate not far, founded in view
 On the clear hyaline, the glassy sea;
 Of amplitude almost immense, with stars 620
 Numerous, and every star perhaps a world
 Of destin'd habitation; but thou know'st

Their

nion a little forc'd; nor yet do I think, that there is any reason to change it into *rebel*, as Dr. Bentley would have it. Milton, I doubt not, intended to allude to Hesiod's giant war, but I don't see with Dr. Bentley, that therefore he must insinuate that this relation is as fabulous as that. He probably design'd by this expression to hint his opinion, that the fictions of the Greek poets owed their rise to some uncertain clouded tradition of this real event, and their giants were, if they had understood the story right, his fall'n Angels. *Thyer.*

619. *On the clear hyaline,*] This word is express'd from the Greek *υαλινη*, and is immediately translated *the glassy sea*. For Milton,

when he uses Greek words, sometimes gives the English with them, as in speaking of the rivers of Hell, II. 577. *Εἶς*. and so *the galaxy* he immediately translates *that milky way*. *The glassy sea* is the same as *the crystallin ocean*, ver. 271. *Καὶ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου θάλασσα υἱαλινῇ, ὁμοία κρυστάλλῳ*. Rev. IV. 6. *And before the throne was a sea of glass, like unto crystal.*

621. — *perhaps a world*
Of destin'd habitation;] Milton was not willing to make the Angel assert positively that every star was a world designed to be inhabited, and therefore adds *perhaps*, this notion of the plurality of worlds being not so well establish'd in those days as in these.

624. *Earth*

Their seasons: among these the seat of Men,
 Earth with her nether ocean circumfus'd, 624
 Their pleasant dwelling place. Thrice happy Men,
 And sons of Men, whom God hath thus advanc'd,
 Created in his image, there to dwell
 And worship him, and in reward to rule
 Over his works, on earth, in sea, or air,
 And multiply a race of worshippers 630
 Holy and just: thrice happy if they know
 Their happiness, and persevere upright.

So sung they, and the empyréan rung,
 With Halleluiahs: Thus was sabbath kept.
 And thy request think now fulfill'd, that ask'd 635
 How first this world and face of things began,
 And what before thy memory was done
 From the beginning, that posterity
 Inform'd by thee might know; if else thou seek'st
 Ought, not surpassing human measure, say. 640

624. *Earth with her nether ocean*
 To distinguish it from the crystallin
 ocean, the waters above the firma-
 ment.

631. — *thrice happy if they know*

Their happiness,] Virg. Georg. II. 458.

O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona
 norint.

The end of the Seventh Book.

THE
EIGHTH BOOK
OF
PARADISE LOST.

VOL. II.

E

THE ARGUMENT.

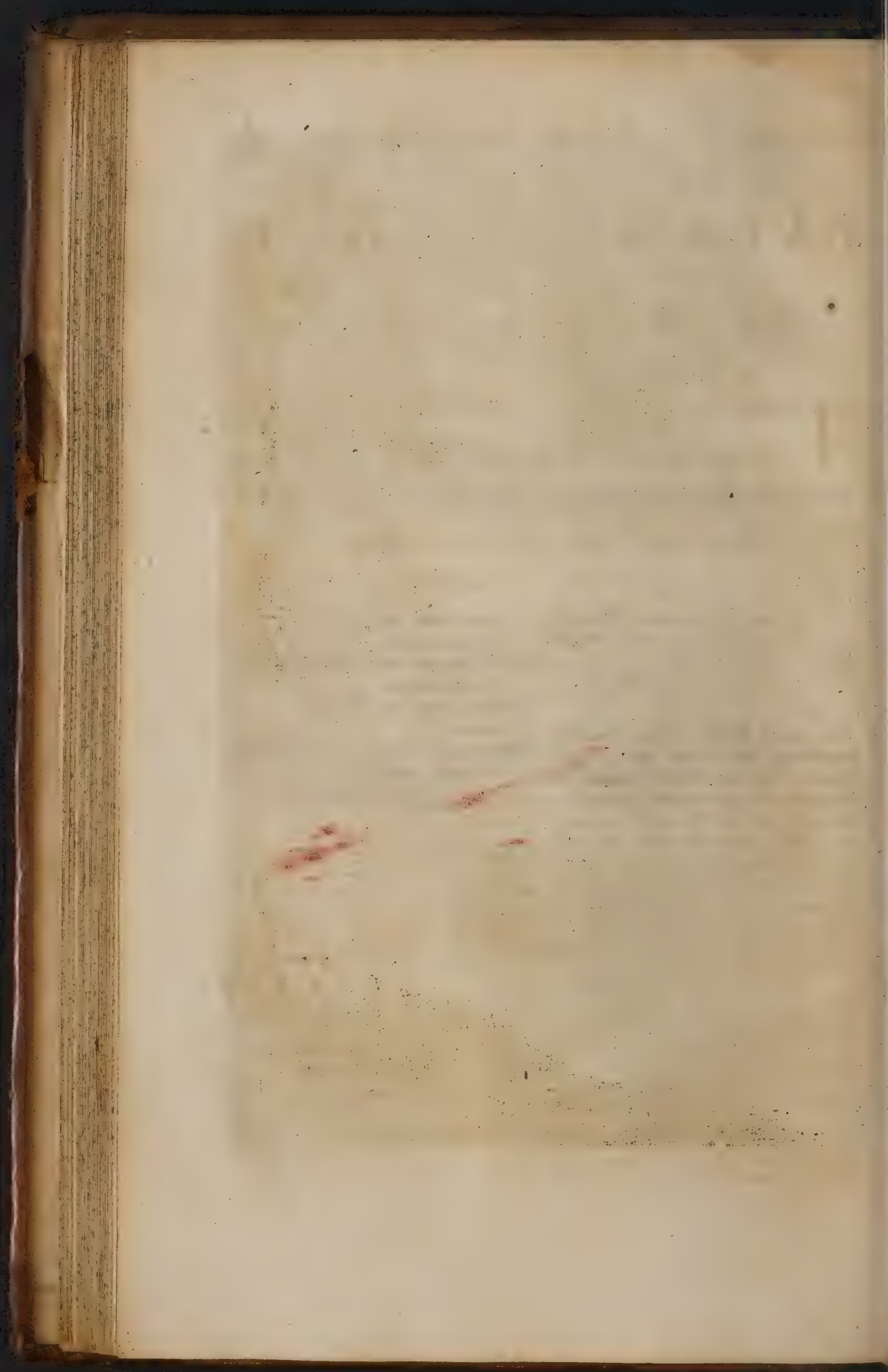
Adam inquires concerning celestial motions, is doubtfully answer'd, and exhorted to search rather things more worthy of knowledge: Adam assents, and still desirous to detain Raphael, relates to him what he remember'd since his own creation, his placing in Paradise, his talk with God concerning solitude and fit society, his first meeting and nuptials with Eve, his discourse with the Angel thereupon; who after admonitions repeated departs.



W. Hayman inv. et del.

J. S. Müller sculp.

Book 8.



PARADISE LOST.

B O O K VIII.

THE Angel ended, and in Adam's ear
 So charming left his voice, that he a while
 Thought him still speaking, still stood fix'd to hear;
 Then as new wak'd thus gratefully reply'd.

What

1. *The Angel ended, &c.*] In the first edition of this poem in ten books here was only this line,

To whom *thus* Adam gratefully reply'd.

This would have been too abrupt a beginning for a new book; and therefore in the second edition of the poem in twelve books, when the seventh book was divided into two, the author changed this line, and changed it very much for the better, into the four first lines as they stand at present, only preserving part of this verse in the last of the four,

Then as new wak'd *thus* gratefully reply'd.

2. *So charming left his voice, &c.*] Imitated probably from Apollonius I. 512. who elegantly describes the effect which the harp and voice of Orpheus had upon the Argonauts. When Orpheus had ended his song, they, says the poet, intent and bending towards him, still listen'd and imagin'd him still speaking.

Η, και ὁ μὲν φορμιγγὰ συν ἀμ-
 βροσίῃ σχεθεὶν αὐδῆ·
 Τοιδ' ἀμοτον ληξάντ' ἐτι πρὸς
 χόντ' οὐ καρηνά·
 Πάντες ὁμῶς ὀρθοῖσιν ἐπ' ἑσθιν
 ἡρεμεῖοντες
 Κηληθμῶ· τοῖον σφιν ἐνελλίπε
 θελκτικὴν αἰσδ' ἦν.

The thought was originally Homer's, Iliad. II. 41.

θεῖν δὲ μιν ἀμφεχὺτ' ὀμφῃ.

Lucian Somn. ἐτι γὰρ—ἡ φωνὴ τῶν ἀκκοῦσιν ἐναυλῶ. And Socrates in Plato's Crito. καὶ ἐν ἐμοὶ αὐτῇ ἡ ἡχὴ τῶν λόγων βομβεῖ, καὶ ποιεῖ μὴ διασπῆσθαι τῶν ἀλ-
 λων ἀκκοῦσιν. Jortin.

3. — *still stood fix'd to hear;*] *Stood* from *Stava* (Italian) remain'd, continued; not that Adam was in a standing posture, probably he sat as at dinner, V. 433. 'Tis not his attitude which is here described, but his great attention. *Richardson.*

What thanks sufficient, or what recompense 5
 Equal have I to render thee, divine
 Historian, who thus largely hast allay'd
 The thirst I had of knowledge, and vouchsaf'd
 This friendly condescension to relate
 Things else by me unsearchable, now heard 10
 With wonder, but delight, and, as is due,
 With glory attributed to the high
 Creator? something yet of doubt remains,
 Which only thy solution can resolve.

When

5. *What thanks sufficient, &c.*] The accounts which Raphael gives of the battel of Angels and the creation of the world, have in them those qualifications, which the critics judge requisite to an episode. They are nearly related to the principal action, and have a just connexion with the fable. The eighth book opens with a beautiful description of the impression which this discourse of the Arch-Angel made on our first parents. Adam afterwards, by a very natural curiosity, inquires concerning the motions of those celestial bodies which make the most glorious appearance among the six days works. The poet here, with a great deal of art, represents Eve as withdrawing from this part of their conversation, to amusements more suitable to her sex. He well knew, that the episode in this book, which is filled with Adam's account of his passion and esteem for Eve, would

have been improper for her hearing, and has therefore devised very just and beautiful reasons for her retiring. *Addison.*

15. *When I behold this goodly frame, this world &c.*] Milton after having given so noble an idea of the creation of this new world takes a most proper occasion to show the two great systems, usually called the Ptolemaic and the Copernican, one making the earth, the other the sun to be the center; and this he does by introducing Adam proposing very judiciously the difficulties that occur in the first, and which was the system most obvious to him. The reply of the Angel touches on the expedients the Ptolemaics invented to solve those difficulties, and to patch up their system, and then intimates that perhaps the sun is the center, and so opens that system, and withal the noble improvements of the new philosophy; not however determining for

When I behold this goodly frame, this world 15
 Of Heav'n and Earth consisting, and compute
 Their magnitudes, this earth a spot, a grain,
 An atom, with the firmament compar'd
 And all her number'd stars, that seem to roll
 Spaces incomprehensible (for such 20
 Their distance argues and their swift return
 Diurnal) merely to officiate light
 Round this opacous earth, this punctual spot,
 One day and night, in all their vast survey

Useless

for one or the other: on the contrary he exhorts our progenitor to apply his thoughts rather to what more nearly concerns him, and is within his reach. *Richardson.*

19. *And all her number'd stars,]* Number'd by whom? by the Lord their Creator, and by him alone, *Psal. CXLVII. 4. He telleth the number of the stars, he calleth them all by their names.* Astronomers also tell their number, but 'tis of that small part only which they see and give names to. But neither is this the *number'd* meant in this place. Adam only would say they are not a few, but a vast number, numerous.

Richardson.

Number'd is the same here as *numerous* in VII. 621.

19. — *that seem to roll*

Spaces incomprehensible] That is roll thro' spaces incomprehensible: But Dr. Bentley reads *With speed incomprehensible*; because (as he says) their

distance does not argue the spaces of the stars, one being reciprocal to the other: nor does their *swift diurnal return* argue their spaces, but rather against them. This is true of the *distance* and the *swift diurnal return* consider'd separately. But it is as true, that when a body is at a vast distance and performs its circuit in a day, both these circumstances consider'd together argue that it rolls through spaces incomprehensible. *Pearce.*

23. — *this punctual spot,]* He had call'd this earth *a spot*, in ver. 17. he calls it here *this punctual spot*, a spot no bigger than a point, compared with the firmament and fixed stars. Dr. Bentley says that the author design'd *punctal*; but *punctual* is derived equally from *punctum* a point; and as the English language was before in possession of the word *punctual*, we may suppose that he chose to make use of this word rather

Useless besides ; reasoning I oft admire, 25
 How nature wise and frugal could commit
 Such disproportions, with superfluous hand
 So many nobler bodies to create,
 Greater so manifold to this one use,
 For ought appears, and on their orbs impose 30
 Such restless revolution day by day
 Repeated, while the sedentary earth,
 That better might with far less compass move,
 Serv'd by more noble than herself, attains
 Her end without least motion, and receives, 35
 As tribute, such a sumless journey brought

Of

than to coin a new one, especially since this signifies the same as the other.

28. *So many noble bodies to create, Greater so manifold*] As if he had said, *So many nobler, so many greater*; but he turns the words, *So many nobler, Greater so many, manifold* for the sake of the verse.

37. *Of incorporeal speed,*] Not that it was truly so, it signifies only very great speed, such as Spirits might use. *Speed almost spiritual*, as he expresses it a little afterwards, ver. 110.

40. — *which Eve Perceiving &c.*] What a lovely picture has the poet here drawn of Eve! As it did not become her to bear a part in the conversation, she modestly sits at a distance, but yet

within view. She stays as long as the Angel and her husband are discoursing of things, which it might concern her and her duty to know: but when they enter upon abstruser points, then she decently retires. This is preserving the decorum of character: and so Cephalus in Plato's Republic, and Scævola in Cicero's treatise De Oratore, stay only as long as it was suitable for persons of their character, and are made to withdraw when the discourse was less proper for them to hear. Eve's withdrawing is juster and more beautiful than these instances. She rises to go forth with lowliness, but yet with majesty and grace. What modesty and what dignity is here! Ovid says of Venus relating a story to her belov'd Adonis, Met. X. 559.

Sic

Of incorporeal speed, her warmth and light;
Speed, to describe whose swiftness number fails.

So spake our fire, and by his count'nance seem'd
Entring on studious thoughts abstruse, which Eve 40
Perceiving where she sat retir'd in sight,
With lowliness majestic from her seat,
And grace that won who saw to wish her stay,
Rose, and went forth among her fruits and flowers,
To visit how they prosper'd, bud and bloom, 45
Her nursery; they at her coming sprung,
And touch'd by her fair tendence gladlier grew.
Yet went she not, as not with such discourse

De-

Sic ait, ac mediis interserit oscula
verbis.

the Heathens supposed their Goddess
of love to be.

But how much more delicate is Milton's expression, and more becoming the chaste conjugal affection of Eve!

— from his lip

Not words alone pleas'd her. —

Tibullus says in praise of Sulpicia,
IV. II. 7.

Illam, quicquid agit, quoquo vestigia flectit,
Componit furtim, subsequiturque decor.

But how much farther has our author carried the thought! Not only grace, but a *pomp of winning graces* waited upon her. She is not only graceful, but *queen of the graces*, as

46. — *they at her coming sprung, &c.*
The same pretty thought Marino applies to his Venus, which probably Milton might have in view,

L'herbe dal sole impallidite, e gialle
Verdeggian tutte, ogni fior s'apre
& alza, &c.

Adone, Cant. 3. St. 65.

In the same manner also speaking of Adonis,

Tutto al venir d' Adon par che ridenti,

Rivestailbel giardin novi colori. &c.

Ib. Cant. 6. St. 146.

Thyer.

Delighted, or not capable her ear
 Of what was high: such pleasure she reserv'd, 50
 Adam relating, the sole auditress;
 Her husband the relator she preferr'd
 Before the Angel, and of him to ask
 Chose rather; he, she knew, would intermix
 Grateful digressions, and solve high dispute 55
 With conjugal caresses; from his lip
 Not words alone pleas'd her. O when meet now
 Such pairs, in love and mutual honor join'd?
 With Goddess-like demeanour forth she went,
 Not unattended, for on her as queen 60
 A pomp of winning graces waited still,
 And from about her shot darts of desire
 Into all eyes to wish her still in sight.

And

59. *With Goddess-like demeanour
forth she went,*

Not unattended,] In the turn of
expression in these two lines Milton
seems to allude to Homer's descrip-
tion of Helen. Iliad. III. 142.

Ὠρματ' ἐκ θαλάμοιο, τέρην κατὰ
δακρυ χέουσα,

Οὐκ οἶν, ἀμὰ τήγε. Thyer.

66. *To ask or search &c.*] The An-
gel's returning a doubtful answer to
Adam's inquiries, was not only pro-
per for the moral reason which the
poet assigns, but because it would
have been highly absurd to have

given the sanction of an Arch-Angel
to any particular system of philo-
sophy. The chief points in the Pto-
lemaic and Copernican hypothesis
are described with great conciseness
and perspicuity, and at the same
time dressed in very pleasing and
poetical images. Addison.

70. *This to attain,*] To attain to
the knowledge of this hard question,
Whether Heaven or Earth move, is
of no concern or consequence to
thee: *N'importe* (French) it matters
not; says Mr. Hume. Mr. Richard-
son understands it in the same man-
ner:

And Raphael now to Adam's doubt propos'd
Benevolent and facil thus reply'd. 65

To ask or search I blame thee not, for Heaven
Is as the book of God before thee set,
Wherein to read his wondrous works, and learn
His seasons, hours, or days, or months, or years:
This to attain, whether Heav'n move or Earth, 70
Imports not, if thou reckon right; the rest
From Man or Angel the great Architect
Did wisely to conceal, and not divulge
His secrets to be scann'd by them who ought
Rather admire; or if they list to try 75
Conjecture, he his fabric of the Heavens
Hath left to their disputes, perhaps to move
His laughter at their quaint opinions wide

Here-

ner: his words are "To attain to
" know whether the sun or the earth
" moves is not of use to us." But
I believe that they are both mistaken
in the sense of this passage, for I
conceive it otherwise. *This to attain*
is to be referred to what precedes
and not to what follows; and ac-
cordingly there is only a colon be-
fore these words in Milton's own
editions, and not a full stop as in
some others. *This to attain*, that is
to attain the knowledge of *seasons,*
hours, or days, or months, or years,
It imports not, it matters not, it

makes no difference whether Hea-
ven move or Earth, whether the
Ptolemaic or the Copernican system
be true. This knowledge we may
still attain; *the rest*, other more cu-
rious points of inquiry concerning
the heavenly bodies, God hath done
wisely to conceal.

76. — *he his fabric of the Heavens*
Hath left to their disputes,] Mun-
dum tradidit disputationi eorum, ut
non inveniatur homo opus quod ope-
ratus est Deus, ab initio usque ad
finem. Vulg. Lat. Eccles. III. 11.

Heylin.
80. And

Heareafter, when they come to model Heaven
 And calculate the stars, how they will wield 80
 The mighty frame, how build, unbuild, contrive
 To save appearances, how gird the sphere
 With centric and eccentric scribled o'er,
 Cycle and epicycle, orb in orb:
 Already by thy reasoning this I guess, 85
 Who art to lead thy offspring, and supposest
 That bodies bright and greater should not serve
 The less not bright, nor Heav'n such journeys run,
 Earth sitting still, when she alone receives
 The benefit: consider first, that great 90
 Or bright infers not excellence: the earth
 Though, in comparison of Heav'n, so small,
 Nor glist'ring, may of solid good contain
 More plenty than the sun that barren shines,

Whose

80. *And calculate the stars,*] The sense is, And form a judgment of the stars by computing their motions, distance, situation, &c, as to *calculate* a nativity signifies to form a judgment of the events attending it, by computing what planets, in what motions, presided over that nativity. But Dr. Bentley takes *calculating the stars* here to mean counting their numbers. That might be one thing intended; but it is not all. To *cal-*

culate them is to make a computation of every thing relating to them: the consequence of which is (in the old system especially) *centric and eccentric, cycle and epicycle, and orb in orb.* Pearce.

83. *With centric and eccentric*] *Centric* or concentric are such spheres whose center is the same with, and *eccentric* such whose centers are different from that of the earth. *Cycle* is a circle; *Epicycle* is a circle upon another

Whose virtue on itself works no effect, 95

But in the fruitful earth ; there first receiv'd

His beams, unactive else, their vigor find.

Yet not to earth are those bright luminaries

Officious, but to thee earth's habitant.

And for the Heav'n's wide circuit, let it speak 100

The Maker's high magnificence, who built

So spacious, and his line stretch'd out so far ;

That Man may know he dwells not in his own ;

An edifice too large for him to fill,

Lodg'd in a small partition, and the rest 105

Ordain'd for uses to his Lord best known.

The swiftness of those circles attribúte,

Though numberless, to his omnipotence,

That to corporeal substances could add 109

Speed almost spiritual ; me thou think'st not flow,

Who

another circle. Expedients of the Ptolemaics to solve the apparent difficulties in their system.

Richardson.

102. — *and his line stretch'd out so far ;*] A Scripture expression, Job XXXVIII. 5. *Who hath stretched the line upon it ?* as if God had measur'd the Heavens and the Earth with a line.

108. *Though numberless,*] It may be join'd in construction with *circles,*

and not with *swiftness*, as Dr. Bentley conceiv'd. And the sense is (as Dr. Pearce expresses it) that it is God's omnipotence which gives to the circles, though so numberless, such a degree of swiftness. Or if we join *numberless* in construction with *swiftness*, it may be understood as in ver 38.

Speed, to describe whose swiftness number fails.

128. *In*

Who since the morning hour set out from Heaven
 Where God resides, and ere mid-day arriv'd
 In Eden, distance inexpressible
 By numbers that have name. But this I urge,
 Admitting motion in the Heav'ns, to show 115
 Invalid that which thee to doubt it mov'd;
 Not that I so affirm, though so it seem
 To thee who hast thy dwelling here on earth.
 God to remove his ways from human sense,
 Plac'd Heav'n from Earth so far, that earthly fight,
 If it presume, might err in things too high, 121
 And no advantage gain. What if the sun
 Be center to the world, and other stars
 By his attractive virtue and their own
 Incited, dance about him various rounds? 125
 Their wand'ring course now high, now low, then hid,
 Pro-

128. *In fix thou seest, &c.*] In the moon, and the five other wand'ring fires, as they are call'd V. 177. Their motions are evident; and what if the earth should be a seventh planet, and move three different motions though to thee insensible? The three different motions which the Copernicans attribute to the earth are the diurnal round her own axis, the annual round the sun, and the motion of libration as it is call'd, whereby the earth so proceeds in her orbit, as that her axis is constantly parallel to the axis of the world. Which else to several spheres thou must ascribe, &c. You must either ascribe these motions to several spheres crossing and thwarting one another with crooked and indirect turnings and windings: Or you must attribute them to the earth, and save the sun his labor and the primum mobile too, that swift nocturnal and diurnal rhomb. It was observed

Progreſſive, retrograde, or ſtanding ſtill,
 In fix thou ſeeſt, and what if ſev'nth to theſe
 The planet earth, ſo ſtedfaſt though ſhe ſeem,
 Inſenſibly three different motions move? 130
 Which elſe to ſeveral ſpheres thou muſt aſcribe,
 Mov'd contrary with thwart obliquities,
 Or ſave the ſun his labor, and that ſwift
 Nocturnal and diurnal rhomb ſuppos'd,
 Inviſible elſe above all ſtars, the wheel 135
 Of day and night; which needs not thy belief,
 If earth induſtrious of herſelf fetch day
 Traveling eaſt, and with her part averſe
 From the ſun's beam meet night, her other part
 Still luminous by his ray. What if that light 140
 Sent from her through the wide tranſpicuous air,
 To the terreſtrial moon be as a ſtar

Inlight-

obſerved in the note on VII. 619. and to carry all the lower ſpheres
 that when Milton uſes a Greek word, round along with it; by its rapidity
 he frequently ſubjoins the Engliſh of communicating to them a motion
 it, as he does here, *the wheel of day whereby they revolved in twenty-*
and night. So he calls the primum four hours. *Which needs not thy belief,*
 mobile: and this primum mobile in *if earth &c.* But there is no need to
 the ancient aſtronomy was an ima- believe this, if the earth by revolv-
 ginary ſphere above thoſe of the ing round on her own axis from weſt
 planets and fixed ſtars; and there- to eaſt in twenty-four hours (*travel-*
 fore ſaid by our author to be *ſuppos'd ing eaſt*) enjoys day in that half of
 and *inviſible above all ſtars.* This her globe which is turn'd towards
 was conceived to be the firſt mover, the ſun, and is cover'd with night
 in.

Inlightning her by day, as she by night
 This earth? reciprocal, if land be there,
 Fields and inhabitants: Her spots thou seest 145
 As clouds, and clouds may rain, and rain produce
 Fruits in her soften'd soil, for some to eat
 Allotted there; and other suns perhaps
 With their attendant moons thou wilt descry
 Communicating male and female light, 150
 Which two great sexes animate the world,
 Stor'd in each orb perhaps with some that live.

For

in the other half which is turn'd
 away from the sun.

145. — *Her spots thou seest*
As clouds,] It seems by this and
 by another passage V. 419. as if
 our author thought that the spots in
 the moon were clouds and vapors:
 but the most probable opinion is,
 that they are her seas and waters,
 which reflect only part of the sun's
 rays, and absorb the rest. They
 cannot possibly be clouds and va-
 pors, because they are observed to
 be fix'd and permanent. But (as
 Dr. Pearce observes) Mr. Auzout in
 the Philosophical Transactions for
 the year 1666 thought that he had
 observed some difference between
 the spots of the moon as they then
 appear'd, and as they are described
 to have appear'd long before: and
 Milton, who wrote this poem about
 that time, might approve of Au-
 zout's observation, though others
 do not.

150. *Communicating male and fe-
 male light,*] The suns com-
 municate male, and the moons fe-
 male light. And thus Pliny mentions
 it as a tradition, that the sun is a
 masculine star, drying all things:
 on the contrary the moon is a soft
 and feminine star, dissolving humors:
 and so the balance of nature is pre-
 served, some of the stars binding the
 elements, and others loosing them.
 Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 2. C. 100. Solis
 ardore siccatur liquor; et hoc esse
 masculum sidus accepimus, torrens
 cuncta sorbensque. — E contrario
 ferunt lunæ femineum ac molle si-
 dus, atque nocturnum solvere humo-
 rem. — Ita pensari naturæ vices,
 semperque sufficere, aliis siderum ele-
 menta cogentibus, aliis vero funden-
 tibus.

155. *Only to shine, yet scarce to con-
 tribute*] The accent here
 upon *contribute* is the same as upon
attribute in ver. 107.

The

For such vast room in nature unpossess'd
 By living soul, desert and desolate,
 Only to shine, yet scarce to contribute 155
 Each orb a glimpse of light, convey'd so far
 Down to this habitable, which returns
 Light back to them, is obvious to dispute.
 But whether thus these things, or whether not,
 Whether the sun predominant in Heaven 160
 Rise on the earth, or earth rise on the sun,
 He from the east his flaming road begin,

Or

The swiftness of those circles attributed:

and upon *attributed* in ver. 12.

With glory attributed to the high.

But now a days we generally lay the accent differently.

157. — *this habitable*,] An adjective used substantively: earth is understood; as in VI. 78. *this terrene*. *This habitable* is pure Greek, Οἰκεμεν, the inhabited, the earth.

Richardson.

158. *Light back to them*,] I think that Dr. Bentley very justly objects to the word *Light* here: for if the fix'd stars convey only a *glimpse of light* to our earth, it is too much to say that she returns back to them *light* in general, which implies more than a glimpse of it. The Doctor therefore would read *Nought back to them*: But this is not agreeable to the philosophy which Milton puts in

Raphael's mouth: for it is intimated in ver. 140. that our earth does *send out light from her*; and if so, then some of her light might be return'd back to the fix'd stars. Suppose we should read *Like back to them &c.* i. e. only a *glimpse of light*, just as much and no more than she receives.

Pearce.

159. *But whether thus these things, or whether not, &c.*] The Angel is now recapitulating the whole. He had argued upon the supposition of the truth of the Ptolemaic system to ver. 122. Then he proposes the Copernican system, and argues upon that supposition. Now he sums up the whole, *But whether thus these things, or whether not*, whether the one system or the other be true, whether Heaven move or Earth, solicit not thyself about these matters, fear God and do thy duty.

162. — *his flaming road*] Elegantly applying to the road what belongs

Or she from west her silent course advance
 With inoffensive pace that spinning sleeps
 On her soft axle, while she paces even, 165
 And bears thee soft with the smooth air along,
 Solicit not thy thoughts with matters hid,
 Leave them to God above, him serve and fear ;
 Of other creatures, as him pleases best,
 Wherever plac'd, let him dispose : joy thou 170
 In what he gives to thee, this Paradise
 And thy fair Eve ; Heav'n is for thee too high
 To know what passes there ; be lowly wise :
 Think only what concerns thee and thy being ;
 Dream not of other worlds, what creatures there 175
 Live, in what state, condition or degree,
 Contented that thus far hath been reveal'd
 Not of Earth only but of highest Heaven.

To

belongs to the sun. So I. 786. he says
 the moon *wheels her pale course*.

Richardson.

164. — *that spinning sleeps*

On her soft axle,] Metaphors taken
 from a top, of which Virgil makes
 a whole simile, *Æn.* VII. 378. It
 is an objection to the Copernican
 system, that if the earth mov'd round
 on her axle in twenty-four hours,
 we should be sensible of the rapidity
 and violence of the motion ; and

therefore to obviate this objection it
 is not only said that *she advances*
her silent course with inoffensive pace
that spinning sleeps on her soft axle,
 but it is farther added to explain it
 still more, *while she paces even, and*
bears thee soft with the smooth air
along : for the air, the atmosphere
 moves as well as the earth.

173. — *be lowly wise :*] *Noli*
altum sapere. *Hume.*

193. *That*

To whom thus Adam, clear'd of doubt, reply'd.
 How fully hast thou satisfy'd me, pure 180
 Intelligence of Heav'n, Angel serene,
 And freed from intricacies, taught to live,
 The easiest way, nor with perplexing thoughts
 To interrupt the sweet of life, from which
 God hath bid dwell far off all anxious cares, 185
 And not molest us, unless we ourselves
 Seek them with wand'ring thoughts, and notions vain.
 But apt the mind or fancy is to rove
 Uncheck'd, and of her roving is no end;
 Till warn'd, or by experience taught, she learn, 190
 That not to know at large of things remote
 From use, obscure and subtle, but to know
 That which before us lies in daily life,
 Is the prime wisdom; what is more, is fume,

Or

193. *That which before us lies in daily life,*] Shadow'd from a verse of Homer, so much admir'd and recommended by Socrates,

ὅτι τοῖς ἐν μεγάροισι κακὸν τ' ἀγαθὸν εἰς τετυχίας. Bentley.

194. *Is the prime wisdom; what is more, is fume, &c.*] An excellent piece of satire this, and a fine reproof of those men who have all sense but common sense, and

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whose folly is truly represented in the story of the philosopher, who while he was gazing at the stars fell into the ditch. Our author in these lines, as Mr. Thyer imagines, might probably have in his eye the character of Socrates, who first attempted to divert his countrymen from their airy and chimerical notions about the origin of things, and turn their attention to that *prime wisdom*, the consideration of moral duties, and their conduct in social life.

F

204. — now

Or emptiness, or fond impertinence, 195
 And renders us in things that most concern
 Unpractic'd, unprepar'd, and still to seek.
 Therefore from this high pitch let us descend
 A lower flight, and speak of things at hand
 Useful, whence haply mention may arise 200
 Of something not unseasonable to ask
 By sufferance, and thy wonted favor deign'd.
 Thee I have heard relating what was done
 Ere my remembrance: now hear me relate
 My story, which perhaps thou hast not heard; 205
 And

204. — *now hear me relate*
My story,] Adam, to detain the
 Angel, enters upon his own history,
 and relates to him the circumstances
 in which he found himself upon his
 creation; as also his conversation
 with his Maker, and his first meet-
 ing with Eve. There is no part of
 the poem more apt to raise the at-
 tention of the reader, than this dis-
 course of our great ancestor; as no-
 thing can be more surprising and
 delightful to us, than to hear the
 sentiments that arose in the first man
 while he was yet new and fresh
 from the hands of his Creator. The
 poet has interwoven every thing
 which is delivered upon this subject
 in holy Writ with so many beautiful
 imaginations of his own, that no-
 thing can be conceived more just
 and natural than this whole episode.

As our author knew this subject could
 not but be agreeable to his reader,
 he would not throw it into the re-
 lation of the six days works, but
 reserved it for a distinct episode, that
 he might have an opportunity of
 expatiating upon it more at large.
 Before I enter on this part of the
 poem, I cannot but take notice of
 two shining passages in the dialogue
 between Adam and the Angel. The
 first is that wherein our ancestor gives
 an account of the pleasure he took
 in conversing with him, which con-
 tains a very noble moral.

For while I sit with thee, I seem
 in Heaven &c.

The other I shall mention is that in
 which the Angel gives a reason why
 he should be glad to hear the story
 Adam was about to relate.

For

And day is yet not spent; till then thou see'st
 How subtly to detain thee I devise,
 Inviting thee to hear while I relate,
 Fond, were it not in hope of thy reply :
 For while I sit with thee, I seem in Heaven, 210
 And sweeter thy discourse is to my ear
 Than fruits of palm-tree pleasantest to thirst
 And hunger both, from labor, at the hour
 Of sweet repast; they satiate, and soon fill 214
 Though pleasant, but thy words with grace divine
 Imbued, bring to their sweetness no satiety.

To

For I that day was absent, &c.

Addison.

211. *And sweeter thy discourse is to my ear &c.*] The poet had here probably in mind that passage in Virgil, Ecl. V. 45.

Tale tuum carmen nobis, divine
 poeta,
 Quale sopor fessis in gramine: quale
 per æstum
 Dulcis aquæ saliente sitim restin-
 guere rivo.

O heav'nly poet! such thy verse
 appears,
 So sweet, so charming to my ra-
 vish'd ears,
 As to the weary swain, with cares
 oppress'd,
 Beneath the sylvan shade, refresh-
 ing rest;

As to the feverish traveler, when
 first

He finds a crystal stream to quench
 his thirst. Dryden.

But the fine turn in the three last lines of Milton is entirely his own, and gives an exquisite beauty to this passage above Virgil's. See *An Essay upon Milton's imitations of the Ancients*, p. 37.

212. — *fruits of palm-tree*] The palm-tree bears a fruit call'd a date, full of sweet juice, a great restorative to dry and exhausted bodies by augmenting the radical moisture. There is one kind of it called Palma Ægyptiaca, which from its virtue against drouth was named *Adiosos*, sitim sedans. *Hume.*

To whom thus Raphael answer'd heav'nly meek.
 Nor are thy lips ungraceful, Sire of men,
 Nor tongue ineloquent; for God on thee
 Abundantly his gifts hath also pour'd 220
 Inward and outward both, his image fair:
 Speaking or mute all comeliness and grace
 Attends thee, and each word, each motion forms;
 Nor less think we in Heav'n of thee on Earth
 Than of our fellow servant, and inquire 225
 Gladly into the ways of God with Man:
 For God we see hath honor'd thee, and set
 On Man his equal love: say therefore on;

For

218. *Nor are thy lips ungraceful,*] Alluding to Psal. XLV. 3. *Full of grace are thy lips.*

221. *Inward and outward both, his image fair:]* One would think by this word *outward* that Milton was of the sect of Anthropomorphites, as well as Materialists.

Warburton.

225. *Than of our fellow servant,*] So the Angel says unto St. John, Rev. XXII. 9. *I am thy fellow servant.*

229. *For I that day was absent,*] The sixth day of creation. Of all the rest, of which he has given an account, he might have been an eye-witness, and speak from his own knowledge: what he has said of this day's work, of Adam's original, to

be sure, he must have had by hearsay or inspiration. Milton had very good reason to make the Angel absent now, not only to vary his speaker, but because Adam could best, or only, tell some particulars not to be omitted. *Richardson.*

231. — *the gates of Hell;*] Hom. Iliad. XXIII. 71. *πυλὰς αἰδᾶο.*

233. *To see that none thence issued forth &c.]* As Man was to be the principal work of God in this lower world, and (according to Milton's hypothesis) a creature to supply the loss of the fallen Angels, so particular care is taken at his creation. The Angels on that day keep watch and guard at the gates of Hell, that none may issue forth to interrupt the sacred work. At the same time

For I that day was absent, as beset,
 Bound on a voyage uncouth and obscure, 230
 Far on excursion tow'ard the gates of Hell;
 Squar'd in full legion (such command we had)
 To see that none thence issued forth a spy,
 Or enemy, while God was in his work,
 Lest he incens'd at such eruption bold, 235
 Destruction with creation might have mix'd.
 Not that they durst without his leave attempt,
 But us he sends upon his high behests
 For state, as Sovran King, and to inure
 Our prompt obedience. Fast we found, fast shut 240
 The

time that this was a very good reason for the Angel's absence, it is likewise doing honor to the Man with whom he was conversing.

240.—*Fast we found, fast shut &c*
 There is no question but our poet drew the image in what follows from that in Virgil's sixth book, where Æneas and the Sibyl stand before the adamantin gates, which are there described as shut upon the place of torments, and listen to the groans, the clank of chains, and the noise of iron whips, that were heard in those regions of pain and sorrow.

Addison.

The reader will not be displeased to see the passage, *Æn.* VI. 557.

Hinc exaudiri gemitus, et sæva sonare

*Verbera; tum stridor ferri, tractæque catenæ:
 Constitit Æneas, strepitumque exterritus hausit.*

From hence are heard the groans of ghosts, the pains
 Of sounding lashes and of dragging chains:
 The Trojan stood astonish'd at their cries. Dryden.

And in like manner Astolfo in Orlando Furioso is represented list'ning at the mouth of Hell, Cant. 34. St. 4.

*L'orecchie attente à lo spiraglio tenne,
 E l'aria ne senti percossa, e rotta
 Da pianti, e d'urli, e da lamento eterno
 Segno evidente, quivi esser l'inferno.*

The dismal gates, and barricado'd strong;
 But long ere our approaching heard within
 Noise, other than the sound of dance or song,
 Torment, and loud lament, and furious rage.
 Glad we return'd up to the coasts of light 245
 Ere sabbath evening: so we had in charge.
 But thy relation now; for I attend,
 Pleas'd with thy words no less than thou with mine.
 So spake the Godlike Pow'r, and thus our fire.
 For Man to tell how human life began 250
 Is hard; for who himself beginning knew?
 Desire with thee still longer to converse
 Induc'd me. As new wak'd from soundest sleep

Soft

To hearken at the same he waxed
 bold,
 And heard most woful mourning,
 plaints, and cries,
 Such as from Hell were likely to
 arise. Harrington.

253. *As new wak'd from soundest
 sleep &c.* Adam then pro-
 ceeds to give an account of his con-
 dition and sentiments immediately
 after his creation. How agreeably
 does he represent the posture in
 which he found himself, the beauti-
 ful landskip that surrounded him,
 and the gladness of heart which grew
 up in him on that occasion? Adam
 is afterwards describ'd as surpris'd
 at his own existence, and taking a

survey of himself, and of all the
 works of nature. He likewise is re-
 presented as discovering by the light
 of reason, that he and every thing
 about him must have been the effect
 of some being infinitely good and
 powerful, and that this being had a
 right to his worship and adoration.
 His first address to the sun and to
 those parts of the creation which
 made the most distinguish'd figure,
 is very natural and amusing to the
 imagination. His next sentiment,
 when upon his first going to sleep he
 fancies himself losing his existence,
 and falling away into nothing, can
 never be sufficiently admir'd. His
 dream, in which he still preserves
 the consciousness of his existence,

Soft on the flow'ry herb I found me laid
 In balmy sweat, which with his beams the sun 255
 Soon dry'd, and on the reaking moisture fed.
 Strait toward Heav'n my wond'ring eyes I turn'd,
 And gaz'd a while the ample sky, till rais'd
 By quick instinctive motion up I sprung,
 As thitherward endeavoring, and upright 260
 Stood on my feet; about me round I saw
 Hill, dale, and shady woods, and sunny plains,
 And liquid lapse of murm'ring streams; by these,
 Creatures that liv'd and mov'd, and walk'd, or flew,
 Birds on the branches warbling; all things smil'd, 265
 With fragrance and with joy my heart o'erflow'd.

Myself

together with his removal into the garden which was prepared for his reception, are also circumstances finely imagined, and grounded upon what is delivered in sacred story. These and the like wonderful incidents in this part of the work have in them all the beauties of novelty, at the same time that they have all the graces of nature. They are such as none but a great genius could have thought of, though, upon the perusal of them, they seem to rise of themselves from the subject of which he treats. In a word, tho' they are natural, they are not obvious, which is the true character of all fine writing. *Addison.*

256. — *reaking*] Or reeking is

the same as steaming or smoking from the Saxon *Rec* smoke. This idea is not the most delicate.

265. — *all things smil'd, With fragrance and with joy my heart o'erflow'd.*] So Milton's own and most other editions, have this passage. Others have it thus,

— all things smil'd
 With fragrance, and with joy my heart o'erflow'd.

Both are beautiful, but we will adhere to the first, not only because it is in Milton's own editions, which we would never alter in the least pointing, unless 'tis manifestly an error of the printer, but this sense is the best. Moreover the period is rounder,
 F 4

Myself I then perus'd, and limb by limb
 Survey'd, and sometimes went, and sometimes ran
 With supple joints, as lively vigor led :
 But who I was, or where, or from what cause, 270
 Knew not ; to speak I try'd, and forthwith spake ;
 My tongue obey'd, and readily could name
 Whate'er I saw. Thou Sun, said I, fair light,
 And thou inlighten'd Earth, so fresh and gay,
 Ye Hills, and Dales, ye Rivers, Woods, and Plains,
 And ye that live and move, fair Creatures tell, 276
 Tell, if ye saw, how came I thus, how here ?
 Not of myself ; by some great Maker then,
 In goodness and in pow'r præeminent ;
 Tell me, how may I know him, how adore, 280
 From

rounder, the cadence more musical,
 and the expression more poetical.
 By *fragrance* Milton has endeavor'd
 to give an idea of that exquisite and
 delicious joy of heart Homer so often
 expresses by *lavetal*, a word that
 signifies the fragrance that flowers
 emit after a shower or dew. Milton
 has used a like expression in his
 treatise of *Reformation*. p. 2. Edit.
 1738. " Methinks a sovran and
 " reviving joy must needs rush into
 " the bosom of him that reads or
 " hears, and the sweet odor of the
 " returning Gospel imbath his soul
 " with the *fragrance* of Heaven."

Richardson.

Mr. Richardson might have further
 observed, that Milton himself had ex-
 pressed the same thought with more
 beauty if possible in IV. 153. where
 speaking of Satan's approach to the
 garden of Paradise he says,

— And of pure now purer air
 Meets his approach, and to the
 heart inspires
 Vernal delight and joy, able to
 drive
 All sadness but despair. *Thyer.*

269. — *as lively vigor led:*] We
 have printed it after the first edi-
 tion, though the second represents
 it thus,

— and

From whom I have that thus I move and live,
 And feel that I am happier than I know.
 While thus I call'd, and stray'd I knew not whither,
 From where I first drew air, and first beheld
 This happy light, when answer none return'd, 285
 On a green shady bank profuse of flowers
 Pensive I sat me down; there gentle sleep
 First found me, and with soft oppression seis'd
 My droued sense, untroubled, though I thought
 I then was passing to my former state 290
 Insensible, and forthwith to dissolve:
 When suddenly stood at my head a dream,
 Whose inward apparition gently mov'd
 My fancy to believe I yet had being,

And

—— and sometimes ran
 With supple joints, *and* lively vigor
 led:

This reading is follow'd likewise in
 some other editions, but we con-
 ceive it to be plainly an error of the
 press.

272. — *and readily could name
 Whate'er I saw.*] There is a
 contradiction between this and ver.
 352 &c. In the first passage Adam says
 that he could name whate'er he saw,
 before he got into Paradise. In the
 second he says, that God gave him
 that ability when the beasts came to
 him in Paradise. For this last pas-

sage alludes to the rabbinical opi-
 nion, that he gave names according
 to their natures (clearer express'd,
 ver. 438 &c) and the knowledge of
 their natures he says God then sud-
 denly indued him with.

Warburton.

292. — *stood at my head a dream,*
 Where busy fancy, in which those
 strange dark scenes are laid, has its
 seat and residence, according to Ho-
 mer's philosophic observation, Iliad.
 II. 16, 20.

Βη δ' ἀρ' οὐερθ, ἐπεὶ τον μυθον
 ἀκσε,

Στη δ' ας ὕπες κεφαλης. Hume.

296. Thy

And liv'd: One came, methought, of shape divine,
 And said, Thy mansion wants thee, Adam, rise, 296
 First Man, of men innumerable ordain'd
 First Father, call'd by thee I come thy guide
 To the garden of blifs, thy feat prepar'd.
 So saying, by the hand he took me rais'd, 300
 And over fields and waters, as in air
 Smooth sliding without step, last led me up
 A woody mountain; whose high top was plain,
 A circuit wide, inclos'd, with goodliest trees 304
 Planted, with walks, and bow'rs, that what I saw
 Of earth before scarce pleasant seem'd. Each tree
 Loaden with fairest fruit, that hung to th' eye

Tempt-

296. *Thy mansion wants thee,*] Rather *wants thee*, says Dr. Bentley. But *wants* is right: as in V. 365.

Those happy places thou hast deign'd
 a while

To *want*. Pearce.

300. *So saying, by the hand he took me rais'd,*] It is said Gen. II. 15. that the Lord God took the man, and put him into the garden of Eden to dress it and to keep it. Some commentators say, that man was not formed in Paradise, but was placed there after he was formed, to show that he had no title to it by nature but by grace: and our author poetically supposes that he was carried thither sleeping, and was first

made to see that happy place in vision. Our poet had perhaps in mind that passage of Virgil, where Venus lays young Ascanius asleep, and removes him from Carthage to the Idalian groves, *Æn.* I. 691.

At Venus Ascanio placidam per
 membra quietem
 Irrigat, et fotum gremio dea tollit
 in altis
 Idaliæ lucos; ubi mollis amaracus
 illum
 Floribus, et dulci aspirans complec-
 titur umbra.

The Goddess then to young Asca-
 nius flies,
 And in a pleasing slumber seals his
 eyes;

Lull'd

Tempting, stirr'd in me sudden appetite
 To pluck and eat; whereat I wak'd, and found
 Before mine eyes all real, as the dream 310
 Had lively shadow'd: Here had new begun
 My wand'ring, had not he who was my guide
 Up hither, from among the trees appear'd,
 Presence divine. Rejoicing, but with awe,
 In adoration at his feet I fell 315
 Submits: he rear'd me', and Whom thou fought'st I am,
 Said mildly, Author of all this thou see'st
 Above, or round about thee, or beneath.
 This Paradise I give thee, count it thine
 To till and keep, and of the fruit to eat: 320
 Of

Lull'd in her lap, amidst a train of
 Loves,
 She gently bears him to her bliss-
 ful groves:
 Then with a wreath of myrtle
 crowns his head,
 And softly lays him on a flow'ry
 bed. Dryden.

Or if our poet had Scripture still in
 view, he had authority for such a
 removal of a person, Acts VIII. 39.
*when the Spirit of the Lord caught
 away Philip, and he was found at
 Azotus.*

314. — *Rejoicing, but with awe,*
 There should most certainly be a
 comma after the word *awe*, altho'
 there be no printed authorities to

justify it. It gives a greater strength
 to the sense, as it confines the *awe*
 to the *rejoicing*, and thereby expresses
 that mixture of joy and reverence,
 which the Scriptures so often recom-
 mend to us in our approaches to the
 divine Being. *Thyer.*

320. *To till and keep,*] Dr. Bentley
 says that Paradise was not to be *till'd*,
 but the common earth after the fall:
 he therefore says that Milton de-
 sign'd it *To dress and keep*, as in Gen.
 II. 15. *to dress it and to keep it.*
 This looks like a just objection, and
 yet is not so in reality: for if he
 had consulted the original, he would
 have found that Adam was to *till*
 as well before as after the fall:
 while he continued in that garden,
 he

Of every tree that in the garden grows
 Eat freely with glad heart ; fear here no dearth :
 But of the tree whose operation brings
 Knowledge of good and ill, which I have set
 The pledge of thy obedience and thy faith, 325
 Amid the garden by the tree of life,
 Remember what I warn thee, shun to taste,
 And shun the bitter consequence : for know,
 The day thou eat'st thereof, my sole command
 Transgress'd, inevitably thou shalt die, 330
 From that day mortal, and this happy state
 Shalt lose, expell'd from hence into a world
 Of woe and sorrow. Sternly he pronounc'd
 The rigid interdiction, which resounds

Yet

he was to *till* that; after his expulsion from thence he was to *till* the common earth. Our poet seems here to have approv'd of the opinion of Fagius (a favorite annotator of his) who in his note on Gen. II. 9. thinks that Adam was to have plough'd and sow'd in Paradise, if he had continued there: And Milton here follows Ainsworth's translation, which has in Gen. II. 15. *to till it and to keep it*: And Ainsworth's translation is more exact than that of our common bible; for not only the original word *קָדַשׁ* here used is the very same with that used in Chap. III. 23. and which is there

render'd to *till*: but the LXX. likewise employ one and the same word *εργαζομαι* in both places, as the Vulgar Latin does *operari*: and the Hebrew, the Greek, the Latin word alike signify to *labor*, *cultivate*, or *till*. In Chap. III. 23. our translators render it *till*, and they might as well have render'd it so Chap. II. 15. since that word in the common acceptation signifies no more than to *cultivate*; and therefore Ainsworth has *till*, and Le Clerc *co-lere* in both places. Our English translators chose to use *dress* here, as imagining it (I suppose) more applicable to a garden. But Dr. Bentley

Yet dreadful in mine ear, though in my choice 335
 Not to incur; but soon his clear aspect
 Return'd, and gracious purpose thus renew'd.
 Not only these fair bounds, but all the earth
 To thee and to thy race I give; as lords
 Possess it, and all things that therein live, 340
 Or live in sea, or air, beast, fish, and fowl.
 In sign whereof each bird and beast behold
 After their kinds; I bring them to receive
 From thee their names, and pay thee fealty
 With low subjection; understand the same 345
 Of fish within their watry residence,
 Not hither summon'd, since they cannot change
 Their element to draw the thinner air.

As

ley should have consulted the ancient versions and the original, and not have trusted to our English translation, especially before he found fault with an author who understood the original so well as Milton did. *Pearce.*

323. *But of the tree &c.*] This being the great hinge on which the whole poem turns, Milton has mark'd it strongly. *But of the tree — Remember what I warn thee —* he dwells, expatiates upon it from ver. 323 to 336, repeating, enforcing, fixing every word; 'tis all nerve and energy. *Richardson.*

330. — *inevitably thou shalt die,*] *In the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die,* as it is express'd Gen. II. 17. that is *from that day* thou shalt become mortal, as our poet immediately afterwards explains it.

335. *Yet dreadful in mine ear,*] The impression, which the interdiction of the tree of life left in the mind of our first parent, is describ'd with great strength and judgment; as the image of the several beasts and birds passing in review before him is very beautiful and lively.

*Addison.*353 — *with*

As thus he spake, each bird and beast behold
 Approaching two and two, these cowering low 350
 With blandishment, each bird stoop'd on his wing.
 I nam'd them, as they pass'd, and understood
 Their nature, with such knowledge God indued
 My sudden apprehension: but in these
 I found not what methought I wanted still; 355
 And to the heav'nly vision thus presum'd.

O by what name, for thou above all these,
 Above mankind, or ought than mankind higher,
 Surpass'est far my naming, how may I
 Adore thee, Author of this universe, 360
 And

353. — *with such knowledge God the name thereof. And Adam gave indued &c.]* Wonderful was the knowledge God bestow'd on Adam, nor that part of it least, which concerned the naming things aright; as Cicero agrees with Pythagoras; Qui primus, quod summæ sapientiæ Pythagoræ visum est, omnibus rebus nomina imposuit. Tusc. Disp. lib. 1. sect. 25. Hume.

354. — *but in these*
I found not what methought I wanted still;] The account given by Moses is very short here, as in all the rest. Gen. II. 19, 20. *And out of the ground the Lord God formed every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air, and brought them unto Adam to see what he would call them: and whatsoever Adam called every living creature, that was*
 357. *O by what name, &c.]* Adam in the next place describes a conference which he held with his Maker upon the subject of solitude. The poet here represents the Supreme Being, as making an essay of his own work, and putting to the trial that reasoning faculty, with which he had indued his creature. Adam urges in this divine colloquy the impossibility of his being happy, tho' he was the inhabitant of Paradise,

And all this good to man? for whose well being
 So amply, and with hands so liberal
 Thou hast provided all things: but with me
 I see not who partakes. In solitude
 What happiness, who can enjoy alone,
 Or all enjoying, what contentment find?
 Thus I presumptuous; and the vision bright,
 As with a smile more brighten'd, thus reply'd.

What call'st thou solitude? is not the earth
 With various living creatures, and the air
 Replenish'd, and all these at thy command
 To come and play before thee? know'st thou not

Their

dise, and lord of the whole creation, without the conversation and society of some rational creature, who should partake those blessings with him. This dialogue, which is supported chiefly by the beauty of the thoughts, without other poetical ornaments, is as fine a part as any in the whole poem. The more the reader examines the justness and delicacy of its sentiments, the more he will find himself pleased with it. The poet has wonderfully preserved the character of majesty and condescension in the Creator, and at the same time that of humility and adoration in the creature. *Addison.*

O by what name,

O quam te memorem?

Virg. *Æn.* I, 327.

357. O by &c] It is an unreasonable as well as untheological supposition, that God gave man the inspir'd knowledge of the natures of his fellow-creatures before the nature of his creator; yet this our poet supposes. What seems to have misled him was that in the ordinary way of acquiring knowledge we rise from the creature to the creator.

Warburton.

372. ——— know'st thou not
 Their language and their ways?] That brutes have a kind of language among themselves is evident and undeniable. There is a treatise in French of the language of brutes: and our author supposes that Adam understood this language and was of knowledge superior to any of his descendants, and besides was assisted by

Their language and their ways? they also know,
 And reason not contemptibly; with these
 Find pastime, and bear rule; thy realm is large. 375
 So spake the universal Lord, and seem'd
 So ord'ring. I with leave of speech implor'd,
 And humble deprecation thus reply'd.

Let not my words offend thee, heav'nly Power,
 My Maker, be propitious while I speak. 380
 Hast thou not made me here thy substitute,
 And these inferior far beneath me set?
 Among unequals what society
 Can sort, what harmony or true delight?
 Which must be mutual, in proportion due 385
 Giv'n

by inspiration, *with such knowledge*
God indued his sudden apprehension.
 He is said by the School-Divines to
 have exceeded Solomon himself in
 knowlege.

379. *Let not my words offend thee,*
 Abraham thus implores leave to
 speak, and makes intercession for
 Sodom with the like humble depre-
 cation. Gen. XVIII. 30. *Oh let*
not the Lord be angry, and I will
speak.

386. — *but in disparity &c.*
 But in inequality, such as is between
 brute and rational; *the one intense,*
 man high, wound up, and strain'd
 to nobler understanding, and of more
 lofty faculty; *the other still remiss,*

the animal, let down, and slacker,
 groveling in more low and mean
 perceptions, can never suit together.
 A musical metaphor, from strings,
 of which the stretch'd and highest
 give a smart and sharp sound, the
 slack a flat and heavy one. *Hume.*

395. *Much less can bird with beast,*
or fish with fowl

So well converse, nor with the ox
the ape;

Worse then can man with beast, &c.]

Dr. Bentley would have us read thus,

But ox with ape cannot so well con-
verse,

Much less can bird with beast, or
fish with fowl;

Worse then &c.

But

Giv'n and receiv'd; but in disparity
 The one intense, the other still remiss
 Cannot well suit with either, but soon prove
 Tedious alike: Of fellowship I speak
 Such as I seek, fit to participate 390
 All rational delight, wherein the brute
 Cannot be human consort; they rejoice
 Each with their kind, lion with lions;
 So fitly them in pairs thou hast combin'd;
 Much less can bird with beast, or fish with fowl 395
 So well converse, nor with the ox the ape;
 Worse then can man with beast, and least of all.
 Whereto th' Almighty answer'd not displeas'd.

A

But this reading is faulty in the diction; for it names *ox* and *ape* without the article *the* before them. When Milton speaks of general things as *bird*, *beast* and *fish*, he drops the article; but he always uses it when particular kinds are mention'd; and this grammar requires. Well, but what is the fault of the common reading? The Doctor says that the *ox* is nearer to the *ape* than *bird* is to *beast* &c; so that the disharmony diminishes by the order of the phrase, instead of increasing. This objection will be remov'd by considering the sense of the whole passage, which the Doctor seems not to have consider'd aright. *The brute* (says Milton ver. 391.) *cannot be hu-*

man consort in rational delight, i. e. cannot converse with man in that way: and then he adds here *Much less can bird well converse so with beast* &c. i. e. less still can one irrational animal converse in this way with another irrational animal; not only if they be of a different species, as bird and beast, fish and fowl are; but even if they be of the same species, as the *ox* and *ape* are; the most widely different creatures of any which are of the same species. But least of all can man converse in a rational way with any of the beasts or irrational creatures. Is not here a very proper gradation?

Pearce.

A nice and subtle happiness I see
 Thou to thyself propos'st, in the choice 400
 Of thy associates, Adam, and wilt taste
 No pleasure, though in pleasure, solitary.
 What think'st thou then of me, and this my state?
 Seem I to thee sufficiently possess'd
 Of happiness, or not? who am alone 405
 From all eternity, for none I know
 Second to me or like, equal much less.
 How have I then with whom to hold converse
 Save with the creatures which I made, and those
 To me inferior, infinite descents 410
 Beneath what other creatures are to thee?

He ceas'd, I lowly answer'd. To attain
 The highth and depth of thy eternal ways
 All human thoughts come short, Supreme of things;
 Thou in thyself art perfect, and in thee 415
 Is no deficiency found; not so is Man,
 But in degree, the cause of his desire

By

406. — none I know
 Second to me or like,] *Nec viget
 quicquam simile aut secundum. Hor.
 Od. I. XII. 18.*

33. *O the depth of the riches both of
 the wisdom and knowledge of God!
 how unsearchable are his judgments,
 and his ways past finding out!*

413. *The highth and depth of thy
 eternal ways &c.] Rom. XI.*

421. *And through all numbers ab-
 solute,] A Latin expression,
 omnibus*

By conversation with his like to help,
 Or solace his defects. No need that thou
 Shouldst propagate, already infinite, 420
 And through all numbers absolute, though one;
 But Man by number is to manifest
 His single imperfection, and beget
 Like of his like, his image multiply'd,
 In unity defective, which requires 425
 Collateral love, and dearest amity.
 Thou in thy secrecy although alone,
 Best with thyself accompanied, seek'st not
 Social communication, yet so pleas'd,
 Canst raise thy creature to what highth thou wilt 430
 Of union or communion, deify'd;
 I by conversing cannot these erect
 From prone, nor in their ways complacence find.
 Thus I imbolden'd spake, and freedom us'd
 Permissive, and acceptance found, which gain'd 435
 This answer from the gracious voice divine.

Thus

omnibus numeris absolutus, as Cicero says, and means perfect in all its parts, and complete in every thing; quod expletum sit omnibus suis numeris et partibus, as Cicero elsewhere expresses it: but there seems to be a low conceit in the expression,

And through all *numbers* absolute, though *one*.

423. *His single imperfection.*] That is the imperfection of him single. A frequent way of speaking in Milton. Pearce.

G 2

440. Ex.

Thus far to try thee, Adam, I was pleas'd,
 And find thee knowing not of beasts alone,
 Which thou hast rightly nam'd, but of thyself,
 Expressing well the spi'rit within thee free, 440
 My image, not imparted to the brute,
 Whose fellowship therefore unmeet for thee
 Good reason was thou freely shouldst dislike,
 And be so minded still; I, ere thou spak'st,
 Knew it not good for Man to be alone, 445
 And no such company as then thou saw'st
 Intended thee, for trial only brought,
 To see how thou could'st judge of fit and meet :

What

440. *Expressing well the spirit within thee free,*

My image,] Milton is upon all occasions a strenuous advocate for the freedom of the human mind against the narrow and rigid notions of the Calvinists of that age, and here in the same spirit supposes the very image of God in which man was made to consist in this liberty. The sentiment is very grand, and this sense of the words is, in my opinion, full as probable as any of those many which the commentators have put upon them, in as much as no property of the soul of man distinguishes him better from the brutes, or assimilates him more to his Creator. This notion, tho' uncommon, is not peculiar to Milton; for I find Clarius, in his remark upon this pas-

sage of Scripture, referring to St. Basil the great for the same interpretation. See Clarius amongst the Critici Sacri. Thyer.

444. — I, ere thou spak'st,
 Knew it not good for Man to be alone,] For we read Gen. II. 18, *And the Lord God said, It is not good that the Man should be alone; I will make him an help meet for him.* And then ver. 19. & 20. God brings the beasts and birds before Adam, and Adam gives them names, *but for Adam there was not found an help meet for him*; as if Adam had now discover'd it himself likewise: and from this little hint our author has rais'd this dialogue between Adam and his Maker. And then follows both in Moses and in Milton the account

What next I bring shall please thee, be assur'd,
 Thy likeness, thy fit help, thy other self, 450
 Thy wish exactly to thy heart's desire.

He ended, or I heard no more, for now
 My earthly by his heav'nly overpower'd,
 Which it had long stood under, strain'd to th' highth
 In that celestial colloquy sublime, 455
 As with an object that excels the sense
 Dazled and spent, sunk down, and sought repair
 Of sleep, which instantly fell on me, call'd
 By nature as in aid, and clos'd mine eyes.
 Mine eyes he clos'd, but open left the cell 460

Of

account of the formation of Eve and institution of marriage.

453. *My earthly by his heav'nly overpower'd,*] The Scripture says only, that *the Lord God caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam*, Gen. II. 21. and our author endeavors to give some account how it was effected: Adam was overpower'd by conversing with so superior a being, his faculties having been all strain'd and exerted to the highth, and now he sunk down quite dazled and spent, and sought repair of sleep, which instantly fell on him, and clos'd his eyes. *Mine eyes he clos'd*, says he again, turning the words, and making sleep a person as the ancient poets often do.

460. *Mine eyes he clos'd, &c.*] Adam then proceeds to give an account of

his second sleep, and of the dream in which he beheld the formation of Eve. The new passion that was awaken'd in him at the sight of her is touch'd very finely. Adam's distress upon losing sight of this beautiful phantom, with his exclamations of joy and gratitude at the discovery of a real creature, who resembled the apparition which had been presented to him in his dream; the approaches he makes to her, and his manner of courtship, are all laid together in a most exquisite propriety of sentiments. Tho' this part of the poem is work'd up with great warmth and spirit, the love which is described in it is every way suitable to a state of innocence. If the reader compares the description which Adam here gives of his leading

Of fancy my internal sight, by which
 Abstract as in a trance methought I saw,
 Though sleeping, where I lay, and saw the shape
 Still glorious before whom awake I stood;
 Who stooping open'd my left side, and took 465
 From thence a rib, with cordial spirits warm,
 And

ing Eve to the nuptial bower, with that which Mr. Dryden has made on the same occasion in a scene of his *Fall of Man*, he will be sensible of the great care which Milton took to avoid all thoughts on so delicate a subject, that might be offensive to religion or good-manners. The sentiments are chaste, but not cold; and convey to the mind ideas of the most transporting passion, and of the greatest purity. Addison.

462. *Abstract as in a trance*] For the word, that we translate *a deep sleep*, Gen. II. 21. *The Lord God caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam*, the Greek interpreters render by *trance* or *ecstasy*, in which the person is *abstract*, is withdrawn at it were from himself, and still sees things, tho' his senses are all lock'd up. So that Adam sees his wife, as he did Paradise, first in vision.

465. — *open'd my left side, and took From thence a rib, — wide was the wound,*

But suddenly with flesh fill'd up and heal'd:] Gen. II. 21. *And he took one of his ribs, and closed up the flesh instead thereof.* The Scripture says only *one of his ribs*, but Milton follows those interpreters who sup-

pose this rib was taken from the left side, as being nearer to the heart.

469. — *fashion'd*] Spelt after the French *façon*.

470. *Under his forming hands a creature grew, &c.*] This

whole account of the formation of Eve, and of the first meeting and nuptials of Adam and Eve is deliver'd in the most natural and easy language, and calls to mind an observation of Mr. Pope upon Milton's style, in his Postscript to the *Odyssey*. "The imitators of Milton, like most other imitators, are not copies but caricatures of their original; they are a hundred times more obsolete and cramp than he, and equally so in all places: Whereas it should have been observed of Milton that he is not lavish of his exotic words and phrases every where alike, but employs them much more where the subject is marvelous, vast and strange, as in the scenes of Heaven, Hell, Chaos, &c. than where it is turned to the natural and agreeable, as in the pictures of Paradise, the loves of our first parents, the entertainments of Angels and the like. In general, this unusual style better serves to awaken our ideas in the
 "descrip-

And life-blood streaming fresh; wide was the wound,
 But suddenly with flesh fill'd up and heal'd:
 The rib he form'd and fashon'd with his hands;
 Under his forming hands a creature grew, 470
 Manlike, but different sex, so lovely fair,
 That what seem'd fair in all the world, seem'd now
 Mean,

“ descriptions and in the imaging
 “ and picturesque parts, than it
 “ agrees with the lower sort of nar-
 “ rations, the character of which
 “ is simplicity and purity. Milton
 “ has several of the latter, where
 “ we find not an antiquated, af-
 “ fected, or uncouth word, for some
 “ hundred lines together; as in his
 “ fifth book, the latter part of the
 “ eighth, the former of the tenth
 “ and eleventh books, and in the
 “ narration of Michael in the twelfth.
 “ I wonder indeed that he, who
 “ ventur'd (contrary to the practice
 “ of all other epic poets) to imitate
 “ Homer's lowlinesses in the narra-
 “ tive, should not also have copied
 “ his plainness and perspicuity in
 “ the dramatic parts: since in his
 “ speeches (where clearness above
 “ all is necessary) there is frequently
 “ such transposition and forced con-
 “ struction, that the very sense is
 “ not to be discover'd without a
 “ second or third reading: and in
 “ this certainly he ought to be no
 “ example.”

471. — so lovely fair
 That what seem'd fair in all the
 world, seem'd now
 Mean,] The position of the words,
 with the pause in the first syllable of

the verse upon the adjective *mean*,
 has a wonderful effect, and gives
 great force to the sentence. No col-
 location of words can exceed this in
 beauty. I remember an adjective
 placed much in the same manner in
 Virgil, Georg. I. 476.

Vox quoque per lucos vulgo exau-
 dita silentes
 Ingens —

The placing of the word *ingens* is
 admirable, and makes one almost
 hear the loud dismal voice groaning
 thro' the groves.

471. — so lovely fair
 That what seem'd fair in all the
 world, seem'd now
 Mean, or in her summ'd up, in her
 contain'd
 And in her looks,] This is the same
 with that which Marino makes Ve-
 nus say to Paris in the picture she
 is giving him of Helen. Adon. Cant.
 2. St. 173.

Sì ben d'ogni bellezza in quel bel
 volto
 Epilogato il cumulo s' unisce,
 E sì perfettamente insieme accolto
 Quanto hà di bel la terra, in lei
 fiorisce. Thyer.

Mean, or in her summ'd up, in her contain'd
 And in her looks, which from that time infus'd
 Sweetness into my heart, unfelt before, 475
 And into all things from her air inspir'd
 The spi'rit of love and amorous delight.
 She disappear'd, and left me dark; I wak'd
 To find her, or for ever to deplore
 Her loss, and other pleasures all abjure: 480
 When out of hope, behold her, not far off,
 Such as I saw her in my dream, adorn'd
 With what all Earth or Heaven could bestow
 To make her amiable: On she came,

Led

476. *And into all things from her
 air inspir'd*

*The spirit of love and amorous de-
 light.*] Lucretius, IV. 1047.

*Seu mulier toto jactans e corpore
 amorem.* Bentley.

The very same compliment Marino
 pays to the three Goddesses, when
 they descended upon mount Ida to
 present themselves before Paris,

*Ne presente vi fu creata cosa,
 Che non sentisse in sè forza amorosa.*
Adone. Cant. 2. St. 125.

The Italian poet, with a surprising
 redundancy of fancy and beauty of
 expression, carries on and explains
 the same thought for six stanzas to-
 gether, but the graver turn of our
 author's poem, and the divine cha-

rafter of the person Adam is talking
 to would have made an imitation in
 this respect indecent and inconsistent.
Thyer.

478. *She disappear'd, and left me
 dark;*] She that was my light
 vanish'd, and left me dark and com-
 fortless. For *light* is in almost all
 languages a metaphor for *joy* and
comfort, and darkness for the con-
 trary. As Dr. Pearce observes, it
 is something of the same way of
 thinking that Milton uses in his
 Sonnet on his deceas'd wife; after
 having described her as appearing to
 him, he says.

She fled, and day brought back my
 night.

485. *Led by her heav'nly Maker,*]
 For the Scripture says, Gen. II. 22.
 that

Led by her heav'nly Maker, though unseen, 485
 And guided by his voice, nor uninform'd
 Of nuptial sanctity and marriage rites:
 Grace was in all her steps, Heav'n in her eye,
 In every gesture dignity and love.
 I overjoy'd could not forbear aloud. 490

This turn hath made amends; thou hast fulfill'd
 Thy words, Creator bounteous and benign,
 Giver of all things fair, but fairest this
 Of all thy gifts, nor enviest. I now see
 Bone of my bone, flesh of my flesh, myself 495
 Before me; Woman is her name, of Man

Ex-

that *the Lord God brought her unto the Man*; and our author still alluding to this text says afterwards, ver. 500. that she was *divinely brought*.

488. — *Heav'n in her eye*,] Give me leave to quote a passage from Shakespear's *Troilus*, which seems to have been in our author's view. Act IV.

Diom. Lady Cressid,
 So please you, save the thanks this prince expects:

The lustre in your eye, Heav'n in your cheek,

Pleads your fair usage.

494. — *nor enviest*.] The verb *enviest* is join'd in construction to *thou hast fulfill'd*: There is then no such loose syntax here, as Dr. Bentley imagins: nor will the words *nor*

enviest be too flat for the present passion (as the Doctor says) if we understand by them, Nor thinkest this gift too good for me. See concerning the sense of this word the note on I. 259. Dr. Bentley reads

— fairest this
 Of all thy gifts, and dearest.

Pearce.

495. *Bone of my bone, &c.*] As if he should say, O my Creator, *those creatures which thou broughtest to me before, were neither like, nor suitable to me, but this that now thou hast bestow'd upon me, is bone of my bone, my own similitude, myself* That Adam, waking from his deep sleep, should in words so express and prophetic own and clame his companion, gave ground to that opinion, that

Extracted; for this cause he shall forgo
 Father and mother, and to' his wife adhere;
 And they shall be one flesh, one heart, one soul.

She heard me thus, and though divinely brought,
 Yet innocence and virgin modesty, 501
 Her virtue and the conscience of her worth,
 That would be woo'd, and not unsought be won,
 Not obvious, not obtrusive, but retir'd,
 The more desirable, or to say all, 505

Nature

that he was not only asleep, but in-
 tranc'd too, by which he saw all
 that was done to him, and under-
 stood the mystery of it, God inform-
 ing his understanding in his ecstasy.

Hume.

498. — *and to' his wife adhere;*]
Adhærebit uxori suæ, as it is in the
 vulgar Latin; *shall cleave unto his*
wife, says the English Bible. But we
 will set down the whole passage in
 Genesis at length, that the reader
 may compare it with our author.
 Gen. II. 23, 24. *And Adam said,*
This is now bone of my bones, and flesh
of my flesh; she shall be called Woman,
because she was taken out of Man.
Therefore shall a man leave his father
and his mother, and shall cleave unto
his wife; and they shall be one flesh.
 How has Milton improv'd upon the
 last words, *and they shall be one flesh;*
 and what an admirable climax has
 he form'd?

And they shall be one flesh, one
 heart, one soul.

And by the way we may observe,
 that there may be great force and
 beauty in a verse, that consists all of
 monosyllables. It is true indeed that

— ten low words oft creep in one
 dull line:

but there are several monosyllable
 verses in Milton as strong and sub-
 lime, as beautiful and harmonious,
 as can possibly be written. No num-
 ber of syllables can equal the force
 of these monosyllables, II. 621. and
 950.

Rocks, caves, lakes, fens, bogs, dens,
 and shades of death.

And swims, or sinks, or wades, or
 creeps, or flies.

And abundance of other instances
 might easily be cited. And certainly
 monosyllables used properly add
 much to the strength and conciseness
 of our language

502. *Her virtue and the conscience*
of her worth,] Dr. Bentley
 proposes to read,

Her

Nature herself, though pure of sinful thought,
 Wrought in her so, that seeing me, she turn'd;
 I follow'd her, she what was honor knew,
 And with obsequious majesty approv'd
 My pleaded reason. To the nuptial bower 510
 I led her blushing like the morn: all Heaven,
 And happy constellations on that hour
 Shed their selectest influence; the earth
 Gave sign of gratulation, and each hill;

Joyous

Her virtue and her consciousness of worth,

The word *conscience* (says he) is here taken in a signification unwarranted by use. But the fact is quite otherwise; for in our English version of the Bible the word is often used in this sense: thus in Hebr. X. 2. *should have had no more conscience of sins.* 1 Cor. VIII. 7. *Some with conscience of the idol eat.* And thus *conscientia* is used by the Latin authors, as in Cicero de Senect. *Conscientia bene actæ vitæ jucundissima est.*

Pearce.

505. — or to say all. &c.] The construction of the whole passage is this, Though she was divinely brought, yet innocence and virgin modesty, her virtue and the conscience of her worth, or to say all, nature herself wrought in her so, that seeing me she turn'd. *Wrought* is the verb, and the nominative cases are *innocence* and *virgin modesty*, *virtue* and *conscience* of worth, and

nature. We mention this because the passage hath been misunderstood by Dr. Bentley, and may be so again by others.

509. *And with obsequious majesty approv'd*] How exactly does our author preserve the same character of Eve in all places where he speaks of her! This *obsequious majesty* is the very same with the *coy submission*, *modest pride* in the fourth book, and both not unlike what Spenser has in his Epithalamium.

Behold how goodly my fair Love doth lie

In proud humility. Thyer.

513. — the earth
 Gave sign of gratulation, &c.] This is a copy from Homer, *Iliad*. XIV. 347. where the creation is made to give the like tokens of joy at the amorous congress of Jupiter and Juno on mount Ida.

Τοιοῖ δ' ὕπο χθονὶ διαφύει νεο-
 θνήσκοντιν &c.

Glad

Joyous the birds; fresh gales and gentle airs 515
 Whisper'd it to the woods, and from their wings
 Flung rose, flung odors from the spicy shrub,
 Disporting, till the amorous bird of night
 Sung spousal, and bid haste the evening star
 On his hill top, to light the bridal lamp. 520

Thus have I told thee all my state, and brought
 My story to the sum of earthly bliss

Which

Glad earth perceives, and from her
 bosom pours
 Unbidden herbs, and voluntary
 flow'rs —
 There golden clouds conceal the
 heav'nly pair,
 Steep'd in soft joys, and circumfus'd
 with air;
 Celestial dews, descending o'er the
 ground,
 Perfume the mount, and breathe
 Ambrosia round. Pope.

But Milton has greatly improv'd this,
 as he improves every thing, in the
 imitation. In all his copies of the
 beautiful passages of other authors
 he studiously varies and disguises
 them, the better to give himself the
 air of an original, and to make by
 his additions and improvements what
 he borrowed the more fairly his own;
 the only regular way of acquiring
 a property in thoughts taken from
 other writers, if we may believe
 Horace, whose laws in poetry are
 of undoubted authority. De Art.
 Poet. 131.

Publica materies privati juris erit, si

Nec circa vilem patulumque mora-
 beris orbem,
 Nec verbum verbo curabis reddere
 fidus
 Interpres, &c.

For what originally others writ,
 May be so well disguis'd, and so
 improv'd,
 That with some justice it may pass
 for yours:
 But then you must not copy trivial
 things,
 Nor word for word too faithfully
 translate. Roscommon.

Milton indeed in what he borrows
 from Scripture, observes the contrary
 rule, and generally adheres minutely,
 or rather religiously, to the very
 words as much as possible of the
 original.

519. — and bid haste the evening
 star

On his hill top, to light the bridal
 lamp] The evening star is said
 to light the bridal lamp, as it was
 the signal among the ancients to
 light their lamps and torches in or-
 der

Which I enjoy, and must confess to find
 In all things else delight indeed, but such
 As us'd or not, works in the mind no change, 525
 Nor vehement desire, these delicacies
 I mean of taste, sight, smell, herbs, fruits, and flowers,
 Walks, and the melody of birds; but here
 Far otherwise, transported I behold,
 Transported touch; here passion first I felt, 530

Com-

der to conduct the bride home to
 the bridegroom.

Vesper adeſt, juvenes conſurgite &c.
 Catul.

On his bill top, ſays our author
 writing in the language as well as in
 the ſpirit of the Ancients: for when
 this ſtar appear'd eaſtward in the
 morning, it was ſaid to riſe on
 mount Ida.

Jamque jugis ſummæ ſurgebat Lu-
 cifera Idæ,
 Ducebatque diem.
 Virg. Æn. II. 801.

when it appear'd weſtward in the
 evening, it was ſaid to be ſeen on
 mount Oeta. Virg. Ecl. VIII. 30.

Sparge marite nuceſ, tibi deſerit
 Heſperuſ Oetam.

Our author therefore writes in classi-
 cal language. He does not mention
 any mountain by name, but ſays
 only *the evening ſtar on his bill top*,
 as appearing above the hills. And
 ſo Spenſer ſays of the ſun, Fairy
 Queen, B. 1. Cant. 2. St. 1.

—— Phœbuſ' fiery car
 In haſte was climbing up the eaſtern
 bill.

And Shakeſpear, Romeo and Juliet,
 Act II.

Now is the ſun upon the highmoſt
 bill
 Of this day's journey.

And this ceremony of the Ancients
 of lighting their bridal lamps and
 torches at evening is alluded to more
 plainly in Book XI. 588.

And now of love they treat, till th'
 evening ſtar,
 Love's harbinger, appear'd; then
 all in heat
 They light the nuptial torch, and
 bid invoke
 Hymen, then firſt to marriage rites
 invok'd.

528. ——— but here

Far otherwiſe, &c.] What a noble
 mixture of rapture and innocence has
 the author join'd together, in the
 reflections which Adam makes on
 the pleaſures of love compared to
 thoſe of ſenſe! Addison.

537. — at

Commotion strange, in all enjoyments else
 Superior and unmov'd, here only weak
 Against the charm of beauty's pow'rful glance.
 Or nature fail'd in me, and left some part
 Not proof enough such object to sustain, 535
 Or from my side subducting, took perhaps
 More than enough; at least on her bestow'd
 Too much of ornament, in outward show
 Elaborate, of inward less exact.
 For well I understand in the prime end 540
 Of nature her th' inferior, in the mind
 And inward faculties, which most excel,
 In outward also her resembling less
 His image who made both, and less expressing
 The character of that dominion given 545
 O'er other creatures; yet when I approach
 Her

537. — at least on her bestow'd
*Too much of ornament, in outward
 show*

Elaborate, of inward less exact.]
 The poet has enlarg'd upon the same
 sentiment in his Samson Agonistes.

Is it for that such outward ornament
 Was lavish'd on their sex, that in-
 ward gifts

Were left for haste unfinish'd, judg-
 ment scant,

Capacity not rais'd to apprehend,
 Or value what is best

In choice, but ofttest to affect the
 wrong?

543. — resembling less

His image &c.] Milton here seems
 to adopt the opinion, that the image
 of God in man was the dominion
 given to him over the creatures, con-
 trary to the sense he follows at ver.
 440. but this is not the only instance,
 where in different places he goes up-
 on different hypotheses, as may best
 suit with his subject. See his diffe-
 rent construction of the sons of God
 going

Her loveliness, so absolute she seems
 And in herself complete, so well to know
 Her own, that what she wills to do or say,
 Seems wisest, virtuousest, discreetest, best; 550
 All higher knowledge in her presence falls
 Degraded, wisdom in discourse with her
 Loses discount'nanc'd, and like folly shows;
 Authority and reason on her wait,
 As one intended first, not after made 555
 Occasionally; and to consummate all,
 Greatness of mind and nobleness their feat
 Build in her loveliest, and create an awe
 About her, as a guard angelic plac'd.

To whom the Angel with contracted brow. 560
 Accuse not nature, she hath done her part;
 Do thou but thine, and be not diffident

Of

going in to the daughters of men in Paradise Lost, and Paradise Regain'd. *Tbyer.*

547. — *so absolute*] So finish'd, so perfect, so *complete*, as it is said in the next line, and as the word is explain'd in the note upon ver. 421. And *so absolv'd* is used VII. 94.

560. *To whom the Angel with contracted brow.*] These sentiments of love in our first parent gave the Angel such an insight into hu-

man nature, that he seems apprehensive of the evils which might befall the species in general, as well as Adam in particular, from the excess of this passion. He therefore fortifies him against it by timely admonitions; which very artfully prepare the mind of the reader for the occurrences of the next book, where the weakness of which Adam here gives such distant discoveries, brings about that fatal event which is the subject of the poem. *Addison.*

568. — *and*

Of wisdom, she deserts thee not, if thou
 Dismiss not her, when most thou need'st her nigh,
 By attributing overmuch to things 565
 Less excellent, as thou thyself perceiv'st.
 For what admir'st thou, what transports thee so,
 An outside? fair no doubt, and worthy well
 Thy cherishing, thy honoring, and thy love,
 Not thy subjection: weigh with her thyself; 570
 Then value: Oft-times nothing profits more
 Than self esteem, grounded on just and right
 Well manag'd; of that skill the more thou know'st,
 The more she will acknowledge thee her head,
 And to realities yield all her shows: 575
 Made so adorn for thy delight the more,

So

568. — *and worthy well*
Thy cherishing, thy honoring, and
thy love,] He maketh use of
 these three words agreeably to Scrip-
 ture. *So ought men to love their*
wives, as their own bodies: he that
loveth his wife, loveth himself: For
no man ever yet hated his own flesh,
but nourisheth and cherisheth it. Eph.
 V. 28, 29. *Giving honor unto the*
wife. 1 Pet. III. 7.

576. *Made so adorn &c.]* These
 verses contain a beautiful and in-
 structive account of the end for which
 God bestowed on Eve so much of
 ornament and awfulness. But two

such participles as *made adorn'd* would
 have sounded very oddly together;
 and therefore he has coin'd an ad-
 jective *adorn*, as the Italians have
adorno for *adornato*. And in like
 manner he uses *sledge* for *sledg'd*, III.
 627. VII. 420. And *devote* for *de-*
voted, IX. 901. And there are other
 instances of his changing the parti-
 ciple into an adjective.

579. *But if the sense of touch &c.]*
 Answering to what Adam had said
 before,

— transported I behold,
 Transported touch.

589. — *love*

Book VIII. PARADISE LOST.

113

So awful, that with honor thou may'st love
Thy mate, who sees when thou art seen least wise.

But if the sense of touch whereby mankind
Is propagated seem such dear delight

580

Beyond all other, think the same vouchsaf'd
To cattel and each beast; which would not be
To them made common and divulg'd, if ought
Therein enjoy'd were worthy to subdue

The soul of man, or passion in him move.

585

What high'er in her society thou find'st
Attractive, human, rational, love still;

In loving thou dost well, in passion not,
Wherein true love consists not; love refines

The thoughts, and heart enlarges, hath his seat

590

In

589. ———— *love refines*
The thoughts, and heart enlarges,
&c.] So Spenser to whom our
author seems to allude by his man-
ner of expression.

But to the highest and the worthiest
Lifteth it up that else would lowly
fall.

Fairy Queen, B. 3. Cant. 5. St. 2.

Such is the pow'r of that sweet
passion,
That it all fordid baseness doth
expel,
And the refined mind doth newly
fashion
Unto a fairer form.

Spenser's Hymn of Love.

Ne suffereth it thought of ungen-
tleness

Ever to creep into his noble breast;

Vo L. II.

See also B. 3. Cant. 3. St. 1. But
there is no doubt, I think, to be
made, that both these admired poets
had in view the refined theory of
love of the divine Plato, and that
Milton in particular in what he says
here had his eye more especially up-
on the following passage, where *the*
scale, by which we must ascend to
heav'nly love, is both mentioned and
described. Τὸ το γὰρ δὴ ἐστὶ τὸ οὐ-
ρανὸν ἐπὶ τὰ σπουδαία ἰσχυρὰ, ἢ οὐτ'
II
αλλὰ

In rea'son, and is judicious, is the scale
 By which to heav'nly love thou may'st ascend,
 Not sunk in carnal pleasure, for which cause
 Among the beasts no mate for thee was found.

To whom thus half abash'd Adam reply'd. 595
 Neither her outside form'd so fair, nor ought
 In procreation common to all kinds
 (Though higher of the genial bed by far,
 And with mysterious reverence I deem)
 So much delights me, as those graceful acts, 600
 Those thousand decencies that daily flow
 From all her words and actions mix'd with love
 And sweet compliance, which declare unfeign'd

Union

ἄλλῃ ἀγεῖσθαι, ἀρχόμενον ἀπὸ τῶν
 δε τῶν καλῶν ἐκείνῃς ἐνεκα τῆς καλῆς,
 αἰετῆς ἐπὶ τῇ ἐπιστήμῃ ὡς πρὸς ἐπαναβαθμοῖς
 χρωμένον ἀπὸ ἐνθ' ἐπὶ δύο, καὶ
 ἀπὸ δύο ἐπὶ πᾶσι ταῖς καλὰ σώ-
 ματα, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν καλῶν σώμα-
 τῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς καλὰς ἐπιτηδεύματα,
 καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν καλῶν ἐπιτηδεύμα-
 τῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς καλὰς μαθηματά· ἐς
 ἂν ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων ἐπ' ἐκεῖνο
 τὸ μαθηματὶς τελευτήσῃ, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐκ
 ἄλλῃς ἢ αὐτῆς ἐκείνῃς τῆς καλῆς μα-
 θημα, καὶ γινώσκοντο τελευτῶν ὃ
 ἐστὶ καλόν. Plat. Conviv. p. 211.
 tom. 3. Edit. Serrani This is the
 more probable from what Milton
 says in the account which he gives
 of himself. "Thus from the laureat
 "fraternity of poets, riper years,

"and the ceaseless round of study
 "and reading, led me to the shady
 "spaces of philosophy; but chiefly
 "to the divine volumes of Plato,
 "and his equal Xenophon: where
 "if I should tell ye what I learnt
 "of chastity and love, I mean that
 "which is truly so" &c. Apol. for
 Smeectymn. p. 111. Vol. 1. Edit.
 1738. Thyer.

591. — and is judicious,] To
 be judicious means here to choose
 proper qualities in Eve for the object
 of love; to love her only for what is
 truly amiable: not for the sense of
 touch whereby mankind is propagated,
 ver. 579, &c; but for what Adam
 found higher in her society, human,
 and rational, ver. 586. &c. Pearce.

595. To

Union of mind, or in us both one soul ;
 Harmony to behold in wedded pair 605
 More grateful than harmonious sound to th' ear.
 Yet these subject not ; I to thee disclose
 What inward thence I feel, not therefore foil'd,
 Who meet with various objects, from the sense
 Variously representing ; yet still free 610
 Approve the best, and follow what I approve.
 To love thou blam'st me not, for love thou say'st
 Leads up to Heav'n, is both the way and guide ;
 Bear with me then, if lawful what I ask ;
 Love not the heav'nly Spi'rits, and how their love 615
 Express they, by looks only', or do they mix

Irra-

595. *To whom thus half abash'd*
Adam reply'd.] Adam's dis-
 course, which follows the gentle re-
 buke he received from the Angel,
 shows that his love, however violent
 it might appear, was still founded in
 reason, and consequently not impro-
 per for Paradise. Addison.

To whom thus half abash'd Adam
reply'd.

This verse might have been turn'd
 otherwise,

To whom thus Adam half abash'd
 reply'd,

and many perhaps will think that it
 runs smoother thus. But let the rea-
 der consider again, whether the verse

as it is in Milton does not better ex-
 press the shame and modest confu-
 sion of Adam.

598. *Though higher of the genial*
bed by far,] The *genial bed*,
 so Horace, Ep. I. I. 87. *lectus genia-*
lis. And with mysterious reverence I
 deem. He had applied this epithet
 to marriage before in IV. 743.

— Nor Eve the rites

Mysterious of connubial love refus'd :

And again, ver. 750.

Hail wedded love, *mysterious* law.

He means by it something that was
 not proper to be divulg'd, but ought
 to be kept in religious silence and
 rever'd like the mysteries.

H 2

618. To

Irradiance, virtual or immediate touch?

To whom the Angel with a smile that glow'd
 Celestial rosy red, love's proper hue,
 Answer'd. Let it suffice thee that thou know'st 620
 Us happy', and without love no happiness.
 Whatever pure thou in the body' enjoy'st
 (And pure thou wert created) we enjoy
 In eminence, and obstacle find none
 Of membrane, joint, or limb, exclusive bars; 625
 Easier than air with air, if Spi'rits embrace,
 Total they mix, union of pure with pure
 Desiring; nor restrain'd conveyance need

As

618. *To whom the Angel with a smile that glow'd*

Celestial rosy red,] Does not our author here mean that the Angel both smil'd and blush'd at Adam's curiosity? Ariosto makes the Angel Michael change color upon a certain occasion,

Nel viso s'arrossi l' Angel beato,
 Parendogli che mal fosse ubidito
 Al Creatore; —

Orl. Fur. Cant. 27. St. 35.

Loaden with Fruit and apples *rosy red*.
 Spenser, Fairy Queen, B. 1. Cant. 11.
 St. 46. *Thyer.*

627. — *union of pure with pure*
Desiring; nor restrain'd conveyance
need

As flesh to mix with flesh, or soul
with soul.] The two last of

these verses Dr. Bentley would throw out: he has several objections to them; but they will be all answer'd by considering the sense of the passage. Raphael had said that Spirits *mix total*; that is one circumstance, in which they differ from men: here he adds another circumstance of their difference, *viz.* they are so unrestrain'd that they *need no conveyance*, that is, need not move to meet one another, as our flesh does to mix with other flesh, and one soul with another soul, mediante corpore. In fewer words, Spirits (says Raphael) not only mix total, but they mix at a distance, and without approaching each other. This is Milton's sense; and now that unintelligible stuff (as the Doctor calls it) *need conveyance, as soul to mix with soul*, is become very

As flesh to mix with flesh, or soul with soul.
 But I can now no more ; the parting sun 630
 Beyond the earth's green Cape and verdant Iles
 Hesperian sets, my signal to depart.
 Be strong, live happy', and love, but first of all
 Him whom to love is to obey, and keep
 His great command ; take heed lest passion sway 635
 Thy judgment to do ought, which else free will
 Would not admit ; thine and of all thy sons
 The weal or woe in thee is plac'd ; beware.
 I in thy persevering shall rejoice,
 And all the Blest ; stand fast ; to stand or fall 640
 Free

very easy to be understood. *Pearce.*

630. *But I can now no more ; the parting sun &c.]* The conversation was now become of such a nature that it was proper to put an end to it : And now *the parting sun beyond the earth's green Cape*, beyond Cape de Verd the most western point of Africa, *and verdant Iles*, the islands of Cape de Verd, a knot of small islands lying off Cape de Verd, subject to the Portuguese, *Hesperian sets*, sets westward, from Hesperus the evening star appearing there, *my signal to depart*, for he was only to stay till the evening, V. 376.

— for these mid hours, till evening rise,

I have at will.

And he very properly closes his discourse with those moral instructions,

which should make the most lasting impression on the mind of Adam, and to deliver which was the principal end and design of the Angel's coming.

634. *Him whom to love is to obey,] For this is the love of God that we keep his commandments.* 1 John V. 3. *His great command* every body will readily understand to be the command not to eat of the forbidden tree, which was to be the trial of Adam's obedience.

637. *Would not admit ;] Admit* is used in the Latin sense, as in Terence, *Heaut. V. II. 3. Quid ego tantum sceleris admisi miser?* What great wickedness have I committed?

637. — *thine and of all thy sons &c.]* In te omnis domus inclinata recumbit. Virg. *Æn. XII. 59.*

H 3

644 — *whom*

Free in thine own arbitrement it lies.
 Perfect within, no outward aid require;
 And all temptation to transgress repel.

So saying, he arose; whom Adam thus
 Follow'd with benediction. Since to part, 645
 Go heav'nly Guest, ethereal Messenger,
 Sent from whose sovran goodness I adore.
 Gentle to me and affable hath been
 Thy condescension, and shall be' honor'd ever
 With grateful memory: thou to mankind 650
 Be good and friendly still, and oft return.

So

644. — *whom Adam thus*] Adam's speech at parting with the Angel has in it a deference and gratitude agreeable to an inferior nature, and at the same time a certain dignity and greatness suitable to the father of mankind in his state of innocence.

Addison.

645. *Follow'd with benediction.*

Since to part,] What's here? says Dr. Bentley: Adam give benediction, his blessing to an Arch-Angel, when *the less is blessed of the better*? But *benediction* does not signify blessing here in the sense which the Doctor gives to the word. *Benedicere Domino*, to bless God is a common phrase in religious offices. And so in a lower sense men may be said to bless Angels; for *benediction* is (properly speaking) only giving them good words, or wishing them well. See Psal. CIX. 17. In

this sense therefore it is not improper to be used towards superiors. But what stile is that (says the Doctor) *Since to part*? It means, Since we are to part. If the expression is abbreviated, so was the time of Raphael's stay with Adam. He was just upon the point of going, and therefore Adam might choose brevity of speech, that he might express all he had to say before the Arch-Angel withdrew himself. No need then for Dr. Bentley's emendation of this sort,

Follow'd with *valediction*, loath to part. Pearce.

Benediction here is not blessing, as 'tis usually understood, but well speaking, thanks. So Milton has explain'd the word Parad. Reg. III. 127.

Glory and benediction, that is thanks. Richardson.

652. So

So parted they, the Angel up to Heaven
From the thick shade, and Adam to his bower.

652. *So parted they, the Angel up
to Heaven*

*From the thick shade, and Adam to
his bower.*] It is very true,

as Dr. Bentley says, that this conversation between Adam and the Angel was held in *the bower*. For thither Adam had invited him. V. 367.

Vouchsafe with us in yonder *shady
bower*

To rest.

And the Angel had accepted the invitation, ver. 375.

— lead on then where *thy bower*
O'er shades —

— So to the sylvan lodge
They came.

But by *bower* in this place is meant his *inmost bower*, as it is call'd in IV. 738. his place of rest. There was a shady walk that led to Adam's bower. When the Angel *arose* ver. 644. Adam *follow'd him* into this shady walk: and it was from this *thick shade* that they parted, and the Angel went up to Heaven, and Adam to his bower.

The end of the Eighth Book.

THE HISTORY OF THE

ROYAL SOCIETY OF LONDON

FROM ITS FIRST INSTITUTION

TO THE PRESENT TIME

IN TWO VOLUMES

BY JOHN DESHAUTES

OF THE SOCIETY

AND OF THE

ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

OF PARIS

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OF THE SOCIETY

THE

N I N T H B O O K

OF

P A R A D I S E L O S T .

THE ARGUMENT.

Satan having compass'd the Earth, with meditated guile returns as a mist by night into Paradise, enters into the serpent sleeping. Adam and Eve in the morning go forth to their labors, which Eve proposes to divide in several places, each laboring apart: Adam consents not, alledging the danger, lest that enemy, of whom they were forewarn'd, should attempt her found alone: Eve loath to be thought not circumspect or firm enough, urges her going apart, the rather desirous to make trial of her strength; Adam at last yields: The Serpent finds her alone; his subtle approach, first gazing, then speaking, with much flattery extolling Eve above all other creatures. Eve wond'ring to hear the Serpent speak, asks how he attain'd to human speech and such understanding not till now; the Serpent answers, that by tasting of a certain tree in the garden he attain'd both to speech and reason, till then void of both: Eve requires him to bring her to that tree, and finds it to be the tree of knowledge forbidden: The Serpent now grown bolder, with many wiles and arguments induces her at length to eat; she pleas'd with the taste deliberates a while whether to impart thereof to Adam or not, at last brings him of the fruit, relates what persuaded her to eat thereof: Adam at first amaz'd, but perceiving her lost, resolves through vehemence of love to perish with her; and extenuating the trespass eats also of the fruit: The effects thereof in them both; they seek to cover their nakedness; then fall to variance and accusation of one another.



F. Hayman inv. et del.

J. B. Miller sculp.

Book 9.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK IX.

NO more of talk where God or Angel guest
With Man, as with his friend, familiar us'd

To

1. *No more of talk &c.*] These prologues or prefaces of Milton to some of his books, speaking of his own person, lamenting his blindness, and preferring his subject to those of Homer and Virgil and the greatest poets before him, are condemn'd by some critics: and it must be allow'd that we find no such digression in the Iliad or Æneid; it is a liberty that can be taken only by such a genius as Milton, and I question whether it would have succeeded in any hands but his. As Monsieur Voltaire says upon the occasion, I cannot but own that an author is generally guilty of an unpardonable self-love, when he lays aside his subject to descant upon his own person: but that human frailty is to be forgiven in Milton; nay I am pleased with it. He gratifies the curiosity he has rais'd in me about his person; when I admire the author, I desire to know something of the man; and he, whom all readers would be glad to know, is allow'd to speak of himself. But this however is a very dangerous example for a genius of an inferior order, and is only to be justified by success. See Voltaire's Essay on epic poetry, p. 111.

But as Mr. Thyer adds, however some critics and Monsieur Voltaire may condemn a poet's sometimes digressing from his subject to speak of himself, it is very certain that Milton was of a very different opinion long before he thought of writing this poem. For in his discourse of the Reason of Church-Government &c. apologizing for saying so much of himself as he there does, he adds, "For although a poet, soaring in the high region of his fancies, with his garland and singing robes about him, might, without apology, speak more of himself than I mean to do; yet for me sitting here below in the cool element of prose, a mortal thing among many readers of no empyreal conceit, to venture and divulge unusual things of myself, I shall petition to the gentler fort, it may not be envy to me." Vol. 1. p. 59. Edit. 1738.

1. — *where God or Angel guest*] Dr. Bentley says that God did not partake rural repast with Adam, and therefore he thinks that the author gave it *where social Angel guest* &c. But *social* is useless here, because *familiar* follows in the next verse. The sense seems to be this; Where God,
or

To sit indulgent, and with him partake
 Rural repast, permitting him the while
 Venial discourse unblam'd: I now must change
 Those notes to tragic; foul distrust, and breach
 Disloyal on the part of Man, revolt,
 And disobedience; on the part of Heaven

Now

or rather the Angel sent by him and acting as his proxy, us'd to sit familiarly with Man as with his friend &c. Hence Raphael is called Adam's *Godlike Guest*, V. 351. *Pearce*. Milton, who knew and study'd the Scripture thoroughly, and continually profits himself of its vast sublimity, as well as of the more noble treasures it contains, and to which his poem owes its greatest lustre, has done it here very remarkably. The episode, which has employ'd almost a third part of the work, and is a discourse betwixt the Angel Raphael and Adam, is plainly copy'd from the XVIIIth Chapter of Genesis, which (by the way) has a sublimity and air of antiquity to which Homer himself is flat and modern: Here *God or Angel guest* holds discourse with Abraham *as friend with friend*, *sits indulgent*, *partakes rural repast*, *permitting him the while discourse* in his turn. No more must now be sung of *such* a heavenly conversation. God himself indeed is not properly a speaker in it, though Adam in his part of it relates his having been honor'd with the divine presence, and a *celestial colloquy*, VIII. 455. as several others, XI. 318, &c. All hitherto is evident beyond contra-

diction. But why *God or Angel guest*? Read that chapter, and 'twill be seen that this remarkable expression is taken from the ambiguity there. *The Lord* and *the Young Men* (always understood to be Angels) are used as words of the same signification, denoting that the divine presence was so effectually with his messengers, that Himself was also there; *Such privilege hath omnipresence; He went, yet stay'd*, as in VII. 589. The same Milton intimates in the passage before us; and 'tis a master stroke of sublimity. *Richardson*.

Mr. Richardson, in saying *The Lord and the Young Men* (always understood to be Angels) are used as words of the same signification, does not seem to be appris'd, that it was an ancient opinion, and believed too by many of the more modern scholars, that the Lord in this passage was God the Son, and the two others only Angels. *Thyer*.

Besides it may be question'd, whether Milton refin'd in this manner; and it seems to me as if a difficulty was made where no difficulty is. The poet says, that he must now treat no more of familiar discourse with either God or Angel. For Adam had held discourse with God,

Now alienated, distance and distaste,
 Anger and just rebuke, and judgment given, 10
 That brought into this world a world of woe,
 Sin and her shadow Death, and Misery
 Death's harbinger: Sad task, yet argument
 Not less but more heroic than the wrath

Of

as we read in the preceding book, and the whole foregoing episode is a conversation with the Angel, and as this takes up so large a part of the poem, this is particularly describ'd and insisted upon here. The Lord God and the Angel Michael both indeed afterwards discourse with Adam in the following books, but those discourses are not familiar conversation as with a friend, they are of a different strain, the one coming to judge, and the other to expel him from Paradise.

5. — *I now must change
 Those notes to tragic;*] As the author is now changing his subject, he professes likewise to change his stile agreeably to it. The reader therefore must not expect such lofty images and descriptions, as before. What follows is more of the *tragic* strain than of the *epic*. Which may serve as an answer to those critics, who censure the latter books of the *Paradise Lost* as falling below the former.

11. *That brought into this world a
 world of woe,*] The pun or what shall I call it in this line may be avoided, as a great man observed to me, by distinguishing thus,

That brought into this world (a
 world of woe)

Sin and her shadow Death,

but I fancy the other will be found more agreeable to Milton's stile and manner. We have a similar instance in XI. 627.

The world ere long a world of tears
 must weep.

But in these instances Milton was corrupted by the bad taste of the times, and by reading the Italian poets, who abound with such verbal quaintnesses.

12. — *and Misery
 Death's harbinger:*] Dr. Bentley reads *Malady*; because, as there is *Misery* after death, so there is *Misery*, which does not usher in death, but invoke it in vain. But by *Misery* here, Milton means sickness, disease, and all sorts of mortal pains. So when in XI. Michael is going to name the several diseases in the lazaret-house represented to Adam in a vision, he says ver. 475.

— that thou may'st know
 What *misery* th' inabstinence of Eve
 Shall bring on men. Pearce.

13. — *Sad task, yet argument*] The *Paradise Lost*, even in this latter part

Of stern Achilles on his foe pursu'd 15
 Thrice fugitive about Troy wall; or rage
 Of Turnus for Lavinia disespous'd,
 Or Neptune's ire or Juno's, that so long
 Perplex'd the Greek and Cytherea's Son;
 If answerable stile I can obtain 20
 Of my celestial patroness, who deigns
 Her nightly visitation unimplor'd,

And

part of it, concerning God's anger and Adam's distress, is a more heroic subject than *the wrath of Achilles on his foe*, Hector whom he pursued three times round the walls of Troy according to Homer, or than the *rage of Turnus for Lavinia disespous'd*, having been first betroth'd to him, and afterwards promis'd to Æneas according to Virgil, or *Neptune's ire that so long perplex'd the Greek*, Ulysses as we read in the Odyssey, or *Juno's ire that for so many years perplex'd Cytherea's son*, Æneas as we read at large in the Æneid. The anger that he is about to sing is an argument more heroic not only than the anger of men, of Achilles and Turnus, but than that even of the Gods, of Neptune and Juno. The anger of the true God is a more noble subject than of the false Gods. In this respect he has the advantage of Homer and Virgil, his argument is more heroic as he says, if he can but make his stile answerable.

21. — *my celestial patroness,*] His heav'nly Muse, his Urania, whom he had invoc'd I. 6. VII. 1, 31. And

he boasts of *her nightly visitation*, as he was not unaccustom'd to study and compose his verses by night; as he intimates himself at the beginning of book the third,

———— but chief
 Thee, Sion, and the flow'ry brooks
 beneath,
 That wash thy hallow'd feet, and
 warbling flow,
Nightly I visit.

And it is probable that in both these passages he alludes to the beginning of Hesiod's Theogony, where he mentions likewise the Muses *walking by night*, ver. 10.

Εἰνυχίαι σείχον, περικαλλέα ὄσαν ἱεσσαι.

23. — *or inspires*
Easy my unpremeditated verse:]
 Here is the same kind of beauty that we observed before in III. 37. The verse flows so easy, that it seems to have been made without premeditation.

26. — *long choosing, and beginning late;*] Our author intended pretty

And dictates to me slumb'ring, or inspires
 Easy my unpremeditated verse :
 Since first this subject for heroic song 25
 Pleas'd me long choos'ing, and beginning late ;
 Not sedulous by nature to indite
 Wars, hitherto the only argument
 Heroic deem'd, chief mast'ry to dissect
 With long and tedious havoc fabled knights 30

In

pretty early to write an epic poem, and propos'd the story of king Arthur for the subject of it : but that was laid aside probably for the reasons here intimated. The *Paradise Lost* he design'd at first as a tragedy ; it was not till long after that he began to form it into an epic poem : and indeed for several years he was so hotly engaged in the controversies of the times, that he was not at leisure to think of a work of this nature, and did not begin to fashion it in its present form till after the *Salmasian* controversy which ended in 1655, and probably did not set about the work in earnest till after the Restoration, so that he was long choos'ing and beginning late.

28. — *hitherto the only argument Heroic deem'd,*] By the Moderns as well as by the Ancients ; wars being the principal subject of all the heroic poems from Homer down to this time. But Milton's subject was different, and whatever others may call it, we see he reckons it himself *An heroic poem*, tho' he names it only *A poem* in his title page.

It is indeed, as Mr. Warburton most excellently observes in his *Divine Legation of Moses*, Book 2. Sect. 4. the *third* species of epic poetry. For just as Virgil rivaled Homer, so Milton emulated both. He found Homer possess'd of the province of *morality*, Virgil of *politics*, and nothing left for him but that of *religion*. This he seised, as aspiring to share with them in the government of the poetic world ; and by means of the superior dignity of his subject, got to the head of that triumvirate which took so many ages in forming. These are the three species of the epic poem ; for its largest province is human action, which can be considered but in a moral, a political, or religious view ; and these the three great creators of them ; for each of these poems was struck out at an heat, and came to perfection from its first essay. Here then the grand scene is clos'd, and all farther improvements of the epic at an end.

29. — *chief mast'ry to dissect &c.*] As the admir'd subjects for an heroic poem were mistaken, so those were wrong

In battels feign'd; the better fortitude
 Of patience and heroic martyrdom
 Unfung; or to describe races and games,
 Or tilting furniture, imblazon'd shields,
 Impresses quaint, caparisons and steeds;
 Bases and tinsel trappings, gorgeous knights
 At joust and torneament; then marshal'd feast
 Serv'd up in hall with sewers, and seneshals;

35

The

wrong who thought the dissecting of *knights* was a principal part of the skill of a poet, describing wounds as a surgeon. He doubtless here glanc'd at Homer's perpetual affectation of this sort of knowledge, which certainly debases his poetry.

Richardson.

33. — or to describe races and games,] As the ancient poets have done; Homer in the twenty-third book of the *Iliad*, Virgil in the fifth book of the *Æneid*, and Statius in the sixth book of his *Thebaid*: Or *tilts* and *torneaments*, which are often the subject of the modern poets, as Ariosto, Spenser, and the like.

34. — imblazon'd shields,] The Italian poets in general are much too circumstantial about these trifling particulars. But I can't help thinking that our author had principally in view Boiardo, who in his catalogue of Agramante's troops gives us a most fastidious detail of imblazonry, having for above a hundred verses together nothing else scarcely but

names of warriors, and descriptions of the devices and impresses which they bore in their arms. See Boiardo's *Orland. Inam. B. 2. C. 29.*

Thyer.

35. *Impresses quaint, &c.*] Uncommon witty devices or emblems, painted on their shields usually with a motto. We remember one which was not painted; 'twas a blank shield, the motto imported that the wearer would win by his valor wherewith to adorn it. *Bases* from *Bas* (French) they fall low to the ground; they are also call'd the *housing* from *houssé*, bedaggled. *Sewers* from *asseoir* (French) to set down; for those officers set the dishes on the table; in old French *asseours*. *Seneshals* from two German words signifying a servant of a family; and was apply'd by way of eminence to the principal servant, the steward. Richardson.

We may observe that Milton spells the word *impreses* after the Italian *impresa*, and not as we commonly do *impresses*, as if it was of Latin ex-

The skill of artifice or office mean,
 Not that which justly gives heroic name 40
 To person or to poem. Me of these
 Nor skill'd nor studious, higher argument
 Remains, sufficient of itself to raise
 That name, unless an age too late, or cold
 Climate, or years damp my intended wing 45
 Depress'd, and much they may, if all be mine,

Not

extraction: but as he has used the words *impress'd* III. 388. and in other places, and *impress* IV. 558. we have caused it to be printed *impresses* out of regard to the uniformity of spelling. And so *torneament* he spells here after the Italian *torneamento*, though in XI. 652. he writes it *tournement*, which seems to be after the French *tournoy*: but the same regard to the uniformity of spelling obliges us to print it in both places alike; and we prefer *torneament*, because we suppose the Italian to have been the original word; as we write *impresses* according to the Latin, because that word is originally derived from the Latin. Shakespear too uses the word *impress* as a substantive in the same sense, Richard II. Act III.

From mine own windows torn my
 household coat,
 Ras'd out my *impress*.

And Fairfax in Tasso, Cant. 20.
 St. 28.

Their arms, *impresses*, colors, gold
 and stone.

VOL. II.

44. — *unless an age too late, or cold*

Climate,] He has a thought of the same kind in his prose works. *The Reason of Church government*. Book the second, p. 60. Edit. 1738.

"As Tasso gave to a prince of
 "Italy his choice, whether he
 "would command him to write of
 "Godfrey's expedition against the
 "infidels, or Belisarius against the
 "Goths, or Charlemain against the
 "Lombards; if to the instinct of
 "nature and the imboldning of art
 "ought may be trusted, and that
 "there be nothing adverse in our
 "climate, or the fate of this age,
 "it haply would be no rashness
 "from an equal diligence and in-
 "clination to present the like offer
 "in our own ancient stories."

Or years damp &c. for he was near sixty when this poem was publish'd. And it is surprising, that at that time of life, and after such troublesome days as he had passed through, he should have so much poetical fire remaining.

1

50. — *sport*

Not hers who brings it nightly to my ear.

The fun was funk, and after him the star
Of Hesperus, whose office is to bring
Twilight upon the earth, short arbiter

50

'Twixt

50. ——— *short arbiter*
[*'Twixt day and night,*] This expression was probably borrow'd from the beginning of Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*, where speaking of the fun about the time of the equinox, he calls him *an indifferent arbiter between the night and the day*.

53. *When Satan who late fled &c.* [If we look into the three great heroic poems which have appeared in the world, we may observe that they are built upon very slight foundations. Homer lived near 300 years after the Trojan war; and, as the writing of history was not then in use among the Greeks, we may very well suppose, that the tradition of Achilles and Ulysses had brought down but very few particulars to his knowledge; tho' there is no question but he has wrought into his two poems such of their remarkable adventures, as were still talked of among his contemporaries. The story of Æneas, on which Virgil founded his poem, was likewise very bare of circumstances, and by that means afforded him an opportunity of embellishing it with fiction, and giving a full range to his own invention. We find however that he has interwoven in the course of his fable the principal particulars which were generally believed among the Romans of Æneas's voyage and settlement in Italy. The reader may

find an abridgement of the whole story as collected out of the ancient historians, and as it was received among the Romans, in Dionysius Halicarnasseus. Since none of the critics have consider'd Virgil's fable, with relation to this history of Æneas; it may not perhaps be amiss to examine it in this light, so far as regards my present purpose. Whoever looks into the abridgement above mention'd, will find that the character of Æneas is filled with piety to the Gods, and a superstitious observation of prodigies, oracles and predictions. Virgil has not only preserved this character in the person of Æneas, but has given a place in his poem to those particular prophecies, which he found recorded of him in history and tradition. The poet took the matters of fact as they came down to him, and circumstanced them after his own manner, to make them appear the more natural, agreeable or surprising. I believe very many readers have been shocked at that ludicrous prophecy which one of the Harpyies pronounces to the Trojans in the third book, namely, that before they had built their intended city, they should be reduced by hunger to eat their very tables. But when they hear that this was one of the circumstances that had been transmitted to the Romans in the history of Æneas, they will think the

'Twixt day and night, and now from end to end
 Night's hemisphere had veil'd th' horizon round:
 When Satan who late fled before the threats
 Of Gabriel out of Eden, now improv'd

In

the poet did very well in taking notice of it. The historian above mention'd acquaints us, a prophetess had foretold Æneas, that he should take his voyage westward, till his companions should eat their tables; and that accordingly, upon his landing in Italy, as they were eating their flesh upon cakes of bread, for want of other conveniencies, they afterwards fed on the cakes themselves; upon which one of the company said merrily, *We are eating our tables*. They immediately took the hint, says the historian, and concluded the prophecy to be fulfill'd. As Virgil did not think it proper to omit so material a particular in the history of Æneas, it may be worth while to consider with how much judgment he has qualified it, and takes off every thing that might have appeared improper for a passage in an heroic poem. The prophetess who foretells it is an hungry Harpy, as the person who discovers it is young Ascanius:

Heus etiam mensas consumimus, inquit Iulus.

Such an observation, which is beautiful in the mouth of a boy, would have been ridiculous from any other of the company. I am apt to think that the changing of the Trojan fleet into water-nymphs, which is the most violent machine in the

whole Æneid, and has given offense to several critics, may be accounted for the same way. Virgil himself, before he begins that relation, premises, that what he was going to tell appeared incredible, but that it was justified by tradition. What farther confirms me that this change of the fleet was a celebrated circumstance in the history of Æneas is, that Ovid has given a place to the same metamorphosis in his account of the Heathen mythology. None of the critics I have met with having considered the fable of the Æneid in this light, and taken notice how the tradition, on which it was founded, authorizes those parts in it which appear most exceptionable; I hope the length of this reflection will not make it unacceptable to the curious part of my readers. The history, which was the basis of Milton's poem, is still shorter than either that of the Iliad or Æneid. The poet has likewise taken care to insert every circumstance of it in the body of his fable. The ninth book, which we are here to consider, is rais'd upon that brief account in Scripture, wherein we are told that the Serpent was more subtle than any beast of the field, that he tempted the woman to eat of the forbidden fruit, that she was overcome by this temptation, and that Adam followed her example. From these few particulars,

In meditated fraud and malice, bent 55
 On Man's destruction, maugre what might hap
 Of heavier on himself, fearless return'd.
 By night he fled, and at midnight return'd
 From compassing the earth, cautious of day,
 Since Uriel regent of the sun descry'd 60
 His entrance, and forewarn'd the Cherubim
 That kept their watch; thence full of anguish driven,
 The space of sev'n continued nights he rode
 With darkness, thrice the equinoctial line

He

ticulars, Milton has formed one of the most entertaining fables that invention ever produced. He has disposed of these several circumstances among so many beautiful and natural fictions of his own, that his whole story looks only like a comment upon sacred Writ, or rather seems to be a full and complete relation of what the other is only an epitome. I have insisted the longer on this consideration, as I look upon the disposition and contrivance of the fable to be the principal beauty of the ninth book, which has more story in it, and is fuller of incidents, than any other in the whole poem. Satan's traversing the globe, and still keeping within the shadow of the night, as fearing to be discover'd by the Angel of the sun, who had before detected him, is one of those beautiful imaginations, with which he introduces this his second series of adventures. Having examin'd the

nature of every creature, and found out one which was the most proper for his purpose, he again returns to Paradise; and to avoid discovery, sinks by night with a river that ran under the garden, and rises up again through a fountain that issued from it by the tree of life. The poet, who, as we have before taken notice, speaks as little as possible in his own person, and after the example of Homer fills every part of his work with manners and characters, introduces a soliloquy of this infernal agent, who was thus restless in the destruction of Man. He is then described as gliding through the garden, under the resemblance of a mist, in order to find out that creature in which he design'd to tempt our first parents. This description has something in it very poetical and surprising. Addison.

63. The space of sev'n continued nights he rode

With

He circled, four times cross'd the car of night 65
 From pole to pole, travérsing each colúre ;
 On th' eighth return'd, and on the coast averse
 From entrance or Cherubic watch, by stealth
 Found unsuspected way. There was a place,
 Now not, though sin, not time, first wrought the
 change, 70

Where Tigris at the foot of Paradise
 Into a gulf shot under ground, till part
 Rose up a fountain by the tree of life ;

In

With darkness, &c.] It was about noon that Satan came to the earth, and having been discover'd by Uriel, he was driven out of Paradise the same night, as we read in book the fourth. From that time he was a whole week in continual darkness for fear of another discovery. *Thrice the equinoctial line he circled ;* he travel'd on with the night three times round the equator ; he was three days moving round from east to west as the sun does, but always on the opposit side of the globe in darkness. *Four times cross'd the car of night from pole to pole ;* did not move directly on with the night as before, but cross'd over from the northern to the southern, and from the southern to the northern pole. *Travérsing each colure.* As the equinoctial line or equator is a great circle incompassing the earth from east to west and from west to east again ; so the colures are two great circles, intersecting

each other at right angles in the poles of the world, and incompassing the earth from north to south, and from south to north again : and therefore as Satan was moving from pole to pole, at the same time the car of night was moving from east to west, if he would keep still in the shade of night as he desir'd, he could not move in a strait line, but must move obliquely, and thereby cross the two colures. We have express'd ourselves as plainly as we can for the sake of those readers, who are not acquainted with these astronomical terms ; and the fact in short is that Satan was three days compassing the earth from east to west, and four days from north to south, but still kept always in the shade of night, and after a whole week's peregrination in this manner on the eighth night return'd by stealth into Paradise.

In with the river sunk, and with it rose
 Satan involv'd in rising mist, then fought 75
 Where to lie hid; sea he had search'd and land
 From Eden over Pontus, and the pool
 Mæotis, up beyond the river Ob;
 Downward as far antarctic; and in length
 West from Orontes to the ocean barr'd 80
 At Darien, thence to the land where flows
 Ganges and Indus: thus the orb he roam'd
 With narrow search, and with inspection deep
 Consider'd every creature, which of all
 Most opportune might serve his wiles, and found 85
 The serpent subtlest beast of all the field.

Him

75. — *involv'd in rising mist,*] Hom. Iliad. I. 359.

ανεδυ πολιν; αλθ, ηυτ' ομιχλη.

77. *From Eden over Pontus, &c.*] As we had before an astronomical, so here we have a geographical, account of Satan's peregrinations. *He search'd both sea and land,* northward *from Eden over Pontus,* Pontus Euxinus, the Euxine Sea, now the Black Sea, above Constantinople, *and the pool Mæotis,* Palus Mæotis above the Black Sea, *up beyond the river Ob,* Ob or Oby a great river of Muscovy near the northern pole. *Downward as far antarctic,* as far southward; the northern hemisphere being elevated on our globes, the

north is called *up* and the south *downward*; *antarctic* south the contrary to *arctic* north from *αρκη* the bear, the most conspicuous constellation near the north pole; but no particular place is mention'd near the south pole, there being all sea or land unknown. *And in length,* as north is up and south is down, so in length is east or west; *west from Orontes,* a river of Syria, westward of Eden, running into the Mediterranean, *to the ocean barr'd at Darien,* the isthmus of Darien in the West Indies, a neck of land that joins North and South America together, and hinders the ocean as it were with a bar from flowing between them; and the metaphor of

Him after long debate, irresolute
 Of thoughts revolv'd, his final sentence chose
 Fit vessel, fittest imp of fraud, in whom
 To enter, and his dark suggestions hide 90
 From sharpest sight: for in the wily snake,
 Whatever sleights none would suspicious mark,
 As from his wit and native subtlety
 Proceeding, which in other beasts observ'd
 Doubt might beget of diabolic power 95
 Active within beyond the sense of brute.
 Thus he resolv'd, but first from inward grief
 His bursting passion into plaints thus pour'd.

O Earth, how like to Heav'n, if not preferr'd

More

the ocean barr'd is in allusion to Job XXXVIII. 10. and set bars to the sea. Thence to the land where flows Ganges and Indus, thence to the East Indies: thus the orb he roam'd.

86. *The serpent subtlest beast of all the field.]* So Moses says Gen.

III. 1. *Now the serpent was more subtle than any beast of the field:* The subtlety of the serpent is commended likewise by Aristotle and other Naturalists: And therefore he was the fitter instrument for Satan, because (as Milton says agreeably with the doctrine of the best Divines) any sleights in him might be thought to proceed from his native wit and subtlety, but observ'd in other creatures might the easier beget a sus-

picion of a diabolical power acting within them beyond their natural sense.

89. — *fittest imp of fraud,]* Fittest stock to graft his devilish fraud upon. *Imp* of the Saxon *impan*, to put into, to graft upon. Thus children are called *little imps*, from their imitating all they see and hear. *Hume.*

99. — *if not preferr'd* *More justly, &c.]* I reckon this panegyric upon the Earth among the less perfect parts of the poem. The beginning is extravagant, and what follows is not consistent with what the author had said before in his description of Satan's passage among the stars and planets, which are said then to appear to him as
 1 4 other

More justly, feat worthier of Gods, as built 100
 With second thoughts, reforming what was old!
 For what God after better worse would build?
 Terrestrial Heav'n, danc'd round by other Heavens
 That shine, yet bear their bright officious lamps,
 Light above light, for thee alone, as seems, 105
 In thee concentrating all their precious beams
 Of sacred influence! As God in Heaven
 Is center, yet extends to all, so thou
 Centring receiv'st from all those orbs; in thee,
 Not in themselves, all their known virtue' appears
 Productive in herb, plant, and nobler birth 111
 Of

other worlds inhabited. See III. 566. The imagination that all the heavenly bodies were created for the sake of the Earth was natural to human ignorance, and human vanity might find its account in it: but neither of these could influence Satan. *Heylin.*

As it is common with people to undervalue what they have forfeited and lost by their folly and wickedness, and to overvalue any good that they hope to attain; so Satan is here made to question whether Earth be not preferable to Heaven: but this is spoken of Earth in its primitive and original beauty before the fall. As Mr. Thyer observes, Spenser has the very same thought upon a like occasion, for describing

the gardens surrounding the temple of Venus he says,

That if the happy souls which do possess
 Th' Elysian fields, and live in lasting bliss,
 Should happen this with living eye to see,

They soon would loath their lesser happiness.

Fairy Queen, B. 5. C. 10. St. 23.

But Satan concludes that Earth must be best, because it was created last;

For what God after better worse would build?

A sophistical argument worthy of Satan, and for the same reason Man would be better than Angels. But Satan was willing to insinuate imperfection

Of creatures animate with gradual life
Of growth, sense, reason, all summ'd up in Man.
With what delight could I have walk'd thee round,
If I could joy in ought, sweet interchange 115
Of hill, and valley, rivers, woods and plains,
Now land, now sea, and shores with forest crown'd,
Rocks, dens, and caves ! but I in none of these
Find place or refuge ; and the more I see
Pleasures about me, so much more I feel 120
Torment within me', as from the hateful siege
Of contraries ; all good to me becomes
Bane, and in Heav'n much worse would be my state.

But

perfection in God, as if he had mended his hand by creation, and as if all the works of God were not perfect in their kinds, and in their degrees, and for the ends for which they were intended.

Find peace or refuge : but it may be understood thus, *but I in none of these find place to dwell in or refuge* from divine vengeance. And this sense seems to be confirm'd by what follows.

113. *Of growth, sense, reason, all summ'd up in Man.*] The three kinds of life rising as it were by steps, the vegetable, animal, and rational ; of all which Man partakes, and he only ; he grows as plants, minerals, and all things inanimate ; he lives as all other animated creatures, but is over and above indued with reason. *Richardson.*

But neither here seek I, no nor in Heaven
To dwell.

122 — *all good to me becomes Bane,* —] When the pause is made upon the first syllable of the verse, it is commonly upon a verb to mark the action more strongly. I think it is always so in Homer. But Milton makes the pause as well upon a substantive, as here, and in VI. 837.

119. *Find place or refuge ;*] Dr. Bentley believes that the author gave it *Find place of refuge :* Another learned gentleman proposes to read

— such as in their souls infix'd
Plagues ;

and

But neither here seek I, no nor in Heaven
 To dwell, unless by mast'ring Heav'n's Supreme; 125
 Nor hope to be myself less miserable
 By what I seek, but others to make such
 As I, though thereby worse to me redound:
 For only in destroying I find ease
 To my relentless thoughts; and him destroy'd, 130
 Or won to what may work his utter loss,
 For whom all this was made, all this will soon
 Follow, as to him link'd in weal or woe,
 In woe then; that destruction wide may range:
 To me shall be the glory sole among 135
 Th' infernal Pow'rs, in one day to have marr'd
 What he Almighty stil'd, six nights and days
 Continued making, and who knows how long
 Before had been contriving, though perhaps
 Not longer than since I in one night freed 140
 From servitude inglorious well nigh half
 Th' angelic name, and thinner left the throng

Of

and in the preceding book we have it upon an adjective, VIII. 472.

That what seem'd fair in all the world, seem'd now
 Mean,

remarks) that the syntax requires to make such as me: But may not the verb substantive *am* be understood, to make others such as I am? and is such an abbreviation uncommon?

127. — but others to make such
 As I,] It is true (as Dr. Bentley

146. — if they at least
 Are his created,] He questions whether

Of his adorers: he to be aveng'd,
 And to repair his numbers thus impair'd,
 Whether such virtue spent of old now fail'd 145
 More Angels to create, if they at least
 Are his created, or to spite us more,
 Determin'd to advance into our room
 A creature form'd of earth, and him endow,
 Exalted from so base original, 150
 With heav'nly spoils, our spoils: What he decreed
 He' effected; Man he made, and for him built
 Magnificent this world, and earth his seat,
 Him lord pronounc'd, and, O indignity!
 Subjected to his service Angel wings, 155
 And flaming ministers to watch and tend
 Their earthly charge: Of these the vigilance
 I dread, and to elude, thus wrapt in mist
 Of midnight vapor glide obscure, and pry
 In every bush and brake, where hap may find 160
 The serpent sleeping, in whose mazy folds
 To

ther the Angels were created by God;
 he had before asserted, that they
 were not, to the Angels themselves,
 V. 859.
 We know no time when we were
 not as now;
 Know none before us, self-begot,
 self-rai'd

By our own quick'ning pow'r.
 156. *And flaming ministers]* For
He maketh his Angels spirits, and
his ministers a flaming fire. Psal.
 CIV. 4.
 161. — *in whose mazy folds]*
 Dr. Bentley reads, *in his mazy folds.*
 164. — *am*

To hide me, and the dark intent I bring.
 O foul descent! that I who erst contended
 With Gods to sit the high'est, am now constrain'd
 Into a beast, and mix'd with bestial slime, 165
 This essence to incarnate and imbrute,
 That to the highth of deity aspir'd;
 But what will not ambition and revenge
 Descend to? who aspires must down as low
 As high he soar'd, obnoxious first or last 170
 To basest things. Revenge, at first though sweet,
 Bitter ere long back on itself recoils;
 Let it; I reckon not, so it light well aim'd,

Since

164. — *am now constrain'd &c.*] The construction is, am now forc'd into a beast, and to incarnate &c. The verb *constrain'd* governs both the members; and there are innumerable instances (as Mr. Richardson observes) in Milton, Horace, and the best Latin and Greek poets, of the same verb governing in one member of the period a noun &c. and in the other a verb &c.

166. *This essence to incarnate and imbrute,*] So also in his Mask,

The soul grows clotted by contagion,
Imbodies and imbrates. Thyer.

169. — *who aspires must down as low*

As high he soar'd,] Rather *must sink as low* (says Dr. Bentley) because it is better to have some verb in the

opposition than the adverb *down*. But yet this way of speaking is agreeable to what Milton says in X. 503.

But *up*, and enter now into full bliss.

In both places the adverbs are used as verbs, or some verb of motion is to be supplied in the sense. *Pearce*. There is a most beautiful instance of the use of such adverbs for verbs in Spakepear, 2 Henry IV. Act IV.

For now a time is come to mock at form;

Henry the fifth is crown'd: *up*, Vainity!

Down, royal State!

173. *Let it;*] Let revenge recoil on itself, *I reckon not*, I value not, *so it light well aim'd*, since higher. *I fall short*, on him who next provokes
 my

Since higher I fall short, on him who next
Provokes my envy, this new favorite 175
Of Heav'n, this man of clay, son of despite,
Whom us the more to spite his Maker rais'd
From dust: spite then with spite is best repaid.

So saying, through each thicket dank or dry,
Like a black mist low creeping, he held on 180
His midnight search, where soonest he might find
The serpent: him fast sleeping soon he found
In labyrinth of many a round self-roll'd,
His head the midst, well stor'd with subtle wiles:
Not yet in horrid shade or dismal den, 185
Nor

my envy, so it light on Man, since I cannot accomplish my revenge on God. A truly diabolical sentiment this. So he can but be any ways reveng'd, he does not value tho' his revenge recoil on himself.
176. — *son of despite*,] 'Tis a Hebraism by which wicked men are termed *sons of Belial* Deut. XIII. 13. valiant men, *sons of courage* 2 Sam. II. 7. untameable beasts, *sons of pride* Job XLI. 25. the disciples, *sons of light* Luke XVI. 8. So Satan calls man the *son of despite*, the offspring of hatred and envy, created to increase his punishment, by seeing *this man of clay* substituted into that glorious station of him *forlorn, outcast of Heaven.* Hume.
I have often wonder'd that this speech of Satan's escaped the parti-

cular observation of the ingenious Mr. Addison. There is not in my opinion any one in the whole book that is worked up with greater judgment, or better suited to the character of the speaker. There is all the horror and malignity of a fiend-like Spirit express'd, and yet this is so artfully temper'd with Satan's sudden starts of recollection upon the meanness and folly of what he was going to undertake, as plainly show the remains of the Arch-Angel, and the ruins of a superior nature.
Thyer.
178. — *spite then with spite is best repaid.*] Æschylus Prometheus. 944.
Οὐλως ὑβριζεῖν τας ὑβριζοντας χρεον. Richardson.
186. Nor

Nor nocent yet, but on the grassy herb
 Fearless unfear'd he slept: in at his mouth
 The Devil enter'd, and his brutal sense,
 In heart or head, possessing soon inspir'd
 With act intelligential; but his sleep 190
 Disturb'd not, waiting close th' approach of morn.
 Now when as sacred light began to dawn
 In Eden on the humid flow'rs, that breath'd
 Their morning incense, when all things that breathe,
 From th' earth's great altar send up silent praise 195
 To

186. *Nor nocent yet,*] Thus it is in the second and in the subsequent editions; in the first edition it is *Not nocent yet*.

186. — *the grassy herb*] So we have in Virgil, Ecl. V. 26. *graminis herbam*.

192. *Now when as sacred light &c.*] The author gives us a description of the morning, which is wonderfully suitable to a divine poem, and peculiar to that first season of nature: He represents the earth, before it was curs'd, as a great altar, breathing out its incense from all parts, and sending up a pleasant favor to the nostrils of its Creator; to which he adds a noble idea of Adam and Eve, as offering their morning worship, and filling up the universal consort of praise and adoration. *Addison*. This is the morning of the ninth day, as far as we can reckon the time in this poem, a great part of the action lying out of the sphere of

day. The first day we reckon that wherein Satan came to the earth; the space of seven days after that he was coasting round the earth; he comes into Paradise again by night; and this is the beginning of the ninth day, and the last of Man's innocence and happiness. And the morning often is called *sacred* by the poets, because that time is usually allotted to sacrifice and devotion, as Eustathius says in his remarks upon Homer.

193. *In Eden on the humid flow'rs, that breath'd*

Their morning incense, when all things that breathe,] Here Milton gives to the English word *breathe*, which is generally used in a more confin'd sense, the extensive signification of the Latin *spirare*, imitating perhaps Spenser, *Fairy Queen* B. 1. Cant. 4. St. 38.

With pleasance of the *breathing fields* yfed, *Thyer*.

197. *With*

To the Creator, and his nostrils fill
With grateful smell, forth came the human pair,
And join'd their vocal worship to the quire
Of creatures wanting voice ; that done, partake
The season, prime for sweetest sents and airs: 200
Then commune how that day they best may ply
Their growing work: for much their work outgrew
The hands dispatch of two gard'ning so wide,
And Eve first to her husband thus began.

Adam, well may we labor still to dress 205
This

197. *With grateful smell,*] This is in the stile of the eastern poetry. So it is said Gen. VIII. 21. *The Lord smelled a sweet savor.*

199. — *that done,*] Our author always supposes Adam and Eve to employ their first and their last hours in devotion. And they are only would-be-wits, who do not believe and worship a God. The greatest geniuses in all ages from Homer to Milton appear plainly by their writings to have been men of piety and religion.

200. *The season, prime for sweetest sents and airs:*] *Sents*, so Milton spells it, doubtless from the Latin *sentiendo*. And so Skinner spells it, and this is the true way of spelling it. I presume, it was first spelt with a *c* *scent*, to distinguish it from the participle *sent* missus; but the sense will sufficiently distinguish the one from the other. And in like

manner *situation* was formerly very absurdly spelt with a *c* *situation*: but in this and all other instances the etymology best regulates the spelling. And as Milton thus commends the morning,

The season, prime for sweetest sents
and airs ;

so he was himself an early riser. See what he says of himself in his *Apolo-
gy for Smectymnus*. p. 109. Vol. 1. Edit. 1738. “ My morning haunts
“ are where they should be, at home,
“ not sleeping, or concocting the
“ surfeits of an irregular feast, but
“ up and stirring, in winter often
“ ere the sound of any bell awake
“ men to labor, or to devotion ; in
“ summer as oft with the bird that
“ first rouses, or not much tardier,
“ to read good authors, or cause
“ them to be read, till the attention
“ be weary, or memory have its
“ full fraught.

This garden, still to tend plant, herb and flower,
 Our pleasant task injoin'd, but till more hands
 Aid us, the work under our labor grows,
 Luxurious by restraint; what we by day
 Lop overgrown, or prune, or prop, or bind, 210
 One night or two with wanton growth derides
 Tending to wild. Thou therefore now advise,
 Or bear what to my mind first thoughts present;
 Let us divide our labors, thou where choice
 Leads thee, or where most needs, whether to wind 215
 The woodbine round this arbor, or direct
 The clasping ivy where to climb, while I

In

213. *Or bear what to my mind*] So the second edition has it; in the first it is *Or bear*. Either will do, and we find sometimes the one and sometimes the other in the following editions.

226. *To whom mild answer Adam thus return'd.*] The dispute which follows between our two first parents is represented with great art: It proceeds from a difference of judgment, not of passion, and is manag'd with reason, not with heat: It is such a dispute as we may suppose might have happen'd in Paradise, had Man continued happy and innocent. There is a great delicacy in the moralities which are interspersed in Adam's discourse, and which the most ordinary reader cannot but take notice of. That force

of love, which the father of mankind so finely describes in the eighth book, shows itself here in many fine instances: as in those fond regards he cast towards Eve at her parting from him, ver. 397.

Her long with ardent look his eye pursued

Delighted &c:

in his impatience and amusement during her absence, ver. 838.

— Adam the while,

Waiting desirous her return, had wove

Of choicest flow'rs a garland &c:

but particularly in that passionate speech, where seeing her irrecoverably lost, he resolves to perish with her rather than to live without her, ver. 904.

— some

In yonder spring of roses intermix'd
 With myrtle, find what to redress till noon :
 For while so near each other thus all day 220
 Our task we choose, what wonder if so near
 Looks intervene and smiles, or object new
 Casual discourse draw on, which intermits
 Our day's work brought to little, though begun
 Early, and th' hour of supper comes unearn'd. 225
 To whom mild answer Adam thus return'd.
 Sole Eve, associate sole, to me beyond
 Compare above all living creatures dear,
 Well hast thou motion'd, well thy thoughts employ'd

How

— some curst fraud
 Of enemy hath beguil'd thee &c:

The beginning of this speech, and the preparation to it, are animated with the same spirit as the conclusion which I have here quoted. Addison.

227. *Sole Eve, associate sole,*] *Sole associate* (says Dr. Bentley) is very well, but *Sole Eve* would deserve in reply *Sole Adam*: he therefore pronounces that Milton gave it *O Eve*, and quotes two passages for the legality of this interjection *O*, join'd to Eve. But as she had her name *Eve* upon account of her being the mother of all living Gen. III. 20. the epithet *sole* is as properly applied to *Eve* as to *associate*. Pearce.

227. — *beyond* — *Compare*] I think we took notice before, that
 Vol. II.

Milton sometimes uses the substantive for an adjective, and an adjective for a substantive. And here we may observe, that sometimes he makes a verb of a noun, and again a noun of a verb. A noun of a verb as here, *beyond compare*, and VI. 549.

Instant without *disturb* they took alarm.

And a verb of a noun, as in VII. 412.

Tempest the ocean.

And in like manner he makes the adjective a verb, as in VI. 440.

— to *better* us, and *worse* our foes ;
 and again the verb an adjective, as in VIII. 576.

Made so *adorn*.

Several other instances in each kind might be cited,

K

239. — *smiles*

How we might best fulfil the work which here 230
 God hath assign'd us, nor of me shalt pass
 Unprais'd: for nothing lovelier can be found
 In woman, than to study household good,
 And good works in her husband to promote.
 Yet not so strictly hath our Lord impos'd 235
 Labor, as to debar us when we need
 Refreshment, whether food, or talk between,
 Food of the mind, or this sweet intercourse
 Of looks and smiles, for smiles from reason flow,
 To brute deny'd, and are of love the food, 240
 Love not the lowest end of human life.
 For not to irksome toil, but to delight
 He made us, and delight to reason join'd.
 These paths and bow'rs doubt not but our joint hands
 Will keep from wilderness with ease, as wide 245
 As we need walk, till younger hands ere long
 Assist us: but if much converse perhaps
 Thee satiate, to short absence I could yield:

For

239. — *smiles from reason flow,*] Smiling is so great an indication of reason, that some philosophers have alter'd the definition of man from *animal rationale* to *risibile*, affirming man to be the only creature endowed with the power of laughter. *Hume.*

244. *These paths and bow'rs*] So it is in the first and best editions, and not *The paths and bow'rs*, as both Dr. Bentley and Mr. Fenton have by mistake printed it.

249. — *is best society,*] As Scipio said,

For solitude sometimes is best society,
 And short retirement urges sweet return. 250
 But other doubt possesses me, lest harm
 Befall thee sever'd from me; for thou know'st
 What hath been warn'd us, what malicious foe
 Envyng our happiness, and of his own
 Despairing, seeks to work us woe and shame 255
 By fly assault; and somewhere nigh at hand
 Watches, no doubt, with greedy hope to find
 His wish and best advantage, us asunder,
 Hopeless to circumvent us join'd, where each
 To other speedy aid might lend at need; 260
 Whether his first design be to withdraw
 Our fealty from God, or to disturb
 Conjugal love, than which perhaps no bliss
 Enjoy'd by us excites his envy more;
 Or this, or worse, leave not the faithful side 265
 That gave thee be'ing, still shades thee and protects.
 The wife, where danger or dishonor lurks,

Safest

said, Never less alone than when alone. Nunquam minus solus quam cum solus.

250. And short retirement urges sweet return.] Retirement, tho' but short, makes the return

sweet: the word *urges* is to be re-ferr'd to *retirement* only, and not to the epithet, which Adam seems to annex to it, only because he could not bear to think of a long one.

Pearce.

K 2

270. — the

Safest and seemliest by her husband stays,
Who guards her, or with her the worst indures.

To whom the virgin majesty of Eve; 270
As one who loves, and some unkindness meets,
With sweet austere composure thus reply'd.

Ofspring of Heav'n and Earth, and all Earth's Lord,
That such an enemy we have, who seeks
Our ruin, both by thee inform'd I learn, 275
And from the parting Angel over-heard,
As in a shady nook I stood behind,
Just then return'd at shut of evening flowers.
But that thou shouldst my firmness therefore doubt

To

270. — *the virgin majesty of Eve,*] The Ancients us'd the word *virgin* with more latitude than we, as Virgil Eclog. VI. 47. calls Pasiphae virgin after she had had three children, and Ovid calls Medea *Adultera virgo*. Ovid. Epist. Hypsip. Jas. 133. It is put here to denote beauty, bloom, sweetness, modesty, and all the amiable characters which are usually found in a virgin, and these with matron majesty; what a picture! Richardson.

It is probable that Milton adopted this adjective sense of the word *virgin* from the Italian *virginale*, which is an epithet very frequent in their poets when describing beauty, modesty, &c. Thyer.

278. *Just then return'd at shut of evening flowers.*] What a

natural notation of evening is this! and a proper time for her, who had gone forth among her fruits and flowers, VIII. 44. to return. But we must not conceive that Eve is speaking of the evening last past, for this was a week ago. Satan was caught tempting Eve in a dream, and fled out of Paradise that night, and with this ends book the fourth. After he had fled out of Paradise, he was ranging round the world seven days: but we have not any account of Adam and Eve excepting only on the first of those days, which begins with the beginning of book the fifth, where Eve relates her dream; that day at noon the Angel Raphael comes down from Heaven; the Angel and Adam discourse together till evening, and they part at the end of book the eighth.

To God or thee, because we have a foe 280

May tempt it, I expected not to hear.

His violence thou fear'st not, being such

As we, not capable of death or pain,

Can either not receive, or can repel.

His fraud is then thy fear, which plain infers 285

Thy equal fear that my firm faith and love

Can by his fraud be shaken or seduc'd;

Thoughts, which how found they harbour in thy breast,

Adam, mishtought of her to thee so dear?

To whom with healing words Adam reply'd. 290

Daughter of God and Man, immortal Eve,

For

eighth. There are six days therefore past in silence, and we hear no more of Adam and Eve, till Satan had stolen again into Paradise.

282. *His violence thou fear'st not,*] Adam had not said so expressly, but had implied as much in enlarging particularly upon his *sly assault*, ver. 256. &c.

289. *Adam, mishtought of her to thee so dear?*] Dr. Bentley says that these words express Adam's affection to her, and not hers to him, as the sense requires: He therefore reads — *to thee so true?* But Milton gave it *dear*, and made Eve here allude to what Adam had said of her in ver. 227.

— to me beyond

Compare above all living creatures *dear*.

If I am so *dear* to you, as you said, how can you thus think amiss of me? This was a good argument in Eve's mouth. *Pearce*.

291. *Daughter of God and Man, immortal Eve,*] As Eve had called Adam *Offspring of Heav'n and Earth*, as made by God out of the dust of the Earth; so Adam calls Eve *Daughter of God and Man*, as made by God out of Man; and acknowledges her to be *immortal*, as she had said herself, ver. 283. that they were *not capable of death or pain*; but only so long as she was *entire from sin and blame*: integer vitæ, scelerisque purus. Hor. Od. I. XXII. 1.

K 3

312. — *while*

For such thou art, from sin and blame entire:
 Not diffident of thee do I dissuade
 Thy absence from my sight, but to avoid
 Th' attempt itself, intended by our foe. 295
 For he who tempts, though' in vain, at least asperges
 The tempted with dishonor foul, suppos'd
 Not incorruptible of faith, not proof
 Against temptation: thou thyself with scorn
 And anger wouldst resent the offer'd wrong, 300
 Though ineffectual found: misdeem not then,
 If such affront I labor to avert
 From thee alone, which on us both at once
 The enemy, though bold, will hardly dare,
 Or daring, first on me th' assault shall light. 305
 Nor thou his malice and false guile contemn;
 Subtle he needs must be, who could seduce
 Angels; nor think superfluous others aid.
 I from the influence of thy looks receive
 Access in every virtue, in thy sight 310

More

312. — *while shame, thou looking on,*] Milton often uses the nominative case absolute, as the Greeks do; which whether it should be call'd a case absolute, or an ellipsis, we leave to the Grammarians to determin. *Jortin.*

314. — *and rais'd unite.*] Would

unite and add vigor to *wisdom, watchfulness, and every virtue* mention'd before. If this be not the meaning, it must be understood thus, Would raise the utmost vigor, and unite and collect it all when rais'd.

318. — *domestic Adam*] This epithet

More wise, more watchful, stronger, if need were
Of outward strength; while shame, thou looking on,
Shame to be overcome or over-reach'd
Would utmost vigor raise, and rais'd unite.
Why shouldst not thou like sense within thee feel 315
When I am present, and thy trial choose
With me, best witness of thy virtue try'd?

So spake domestic Adam in his care
And matrimonial love; but Eve, who thought
Less attributed to her faith sincere, 320
Thus her reply with accent sweet renew'd.

If this be our condition, thus to dwell
In narrow circuit straiten'd by a foe,
Subtle or violent, we not indued
Single with like defense, wherever met, 325
How are we happy, still in fear of harm?
But harm precedes not sin: only our foe
Tempting affronts us with his foul esteem
Of our integrity: his foul esteem

Sticks

thet seems to allude to what Adam had said in ver. 232.	<i>Domestic in his care</i> , may signify here one who has a careful regard to the good of his family; and all this speech of Adam's was intended for the security of his wife. <i>Pearce.</i>
— nothing lovelier can be found In woman, than to study household good, And good works in her husband to promote.	320. <i>Less attributed</i>] That is, too little; an elegant Latinism. <i>Richardson.</i> 330. <i>Sticks</i>
K 4	

Sticks no dishonor on our front, but turns 330
 Foul on himself; then wherefore shunn'd or fear'd
 By us? who rather double honor gain
 From his surmise prov'd false, find peace within,
 Favor from Heav'n, our witness from th' event.
 And what is faith, love, virtue unassay'd 335
 Alone, without exterior help sustain'd?
 Let us not then suspect our happy state
 Left so imperfect by the Maker wise,
 As not secure to single or combin'd.
 Frail is our happiness, if this be so, 340
 And

330. *Sticks no dishonor on our front,*] Here is such a jingle and turn of the words, as we sometimes meet with in our author; *He affronts us with his foul esteem*, but *his foul esteem sticks no dishonor on our front*: but our author alludes to the etymology of of the word *affront*: *adfrontare*, i. e. *frontem fronti committere*, as Skinner says. And I find Shakespear using the word in its original signification. *Cymbeline*, Act. IV.

— Good my liege

Your preparation can *affront* no less
 Than what you hear of.

And afterwards, Act V.

There was a fourth man—

That gave th' *affront* with them.

And in *Hamlet*, Act III:

That he, as 'twere by accident, may
 here

Affront Ophelia.

334. — *our witness from th' event.*] The Spirit bearing witness with our spirit, *Rom. VIII. 16.*

335. *And what is faith, love, virtue unassay'd*

Alone, without exterior help sustain'd?] What merit is there in any virtue till it has stood the test alone, and without other assistance?

*Paulum sepultæ distat inertiae
 Celata virtus. Hor. Od. IV. IX. 29.
 Richardson.*

339. *As not secure to single or combin'd.*] As not to be secure to us single or together.

342. *To whom thus Adam fervently reply'd.*

O Woman,] What Eve had just now said required some reprimand from Adam, and it was necessary to describe

And Eden were no Eden thus expos'd.

To whom thus Adam fervently reply'd.

O Woman, best are all things as the will
Of God ordain'd them; his creating hand
Nothing imperfect or deficient left

345

Of all that he created, much less Man,
Or ought that might his happy state secure,
Secure from outward force; within himself
The danger lies, yet lies within his power:
Against his will he can receive no harm.

350

But God left free the will, for what obeys

Reason,

describe him as in some degree displeas'd; but what extreme delicacy has our author shown in choosing the word *fervently* to express it by? a term which tho' it implies some emotion, yet carries nothing in its idea inconsistent with that subserviency of the passions, which subsisted before the fall. In the two foregoing speeches he had made Adam address himself to her in the affectionate terms of *Sole Eve, associate sole, and Daughter of God and Man, immortal Eve*; but here with great judgment he changes those endearing words for these more authoritative, *O Woman*. I should think that Milton in this expression alluded to what our Saviour said to the Virgin Mary, *Woman what have I to do with thee*, was not I satisfied, that he could not with his learning take these words in the vulgar mistaken sense, which

our translation naturally leads ignorant readers into, and must very well know that *Town* amongst the Greeks is a term of great respect. Indeed throughout this whole conversation, which the poet has in every respect worked up to a faultless perfection, there is the most exact observance of justness and propriety of character. With what strength is the superior excellency of man's understanding here pointed out, and how nicely does our author here sketch out the defects peculiar in general to the female mind? and after all what great art has he shown in making Adam contrary to his better reason grant his spouse's request, beautifully verifying what he had made our general ancestor a little before observe to the Angel? VIII. 546. &c.

Thyer.

353. But

Reason, is free, and reason he made right,
 But bid her well be ware, and still erect,
 Left by some fair appearing good surpris'd
 She dictate false, and misinform the will 355
 To do what God expressly hath forbid.
 Not then mistrust, but tender love enjoins,
 That I should mind thee oft, and mind thou me.
 Firm we subsist, yet possible to swerve,
 Since reason not impossibly may meet 360
 Some specious object by the foe suborn'd,
 And fall into deception unaware,
 Not keeping strictest watch, as she was warn'd.
 Seek not temptation then, which to avoid
 Were better, and most likely if from me 365
 Thou sever not: trial will come unfought.
 Wouldst thou approve thy constancy, approve
 First thy obedience; th' other who can know,

Not

353. *But bid her well be ware, and still erect,*] It is very true, as Dr. Bentley observes, that *erect* requires the preceding word to be adjective like itself: but so is *ware* or *wary*, and so it is used Matth. XXIV. 50. *The Lord of that servant shall come in a day when he looketh not for him, and in an hour that he is not ware of*, and 2 Tim. IV. 15. *Of whom be thou ware also*; and by our author himself in the *Mask, Silence* was took ere she was ware. And therefore *be ware* should not have been printed as one word, but as two; and then there could have been no mistake about it. 372. *Go; for thy stay, not free, absents thee more;*] It is related in the Life of Milton, that he went into the country in the Whitsuntide vacation, and married his first wife Mary the daughter of Justice Powell of Oxfordshire. She had not cohabited

Not seeing thee attempted, who attest?

But if thou think, trial unfought may find 370

Us both securer than thus warn'd thou seem'st,

Go; for thy stay, not free, absents thee more;

Go in thy native innocence, rely

On what thou hast of virtue, summon all,

For God tow'ards thee hath done his part, do thine.

So spake the patriarch of mankind; but Eve 376

Perfisted, yet submits, though last, reply'd.

With thy permission then, and thus forewarn'd

Chiefly by what thy own last reasoning words

Touch'd only, that our trial, when least sought, 380

May find us both perhaps far less prepar'd,

The willinger I go, nor much expect

A foe so proud will first the weaker seek;

So bent, the more shall shame him his repulse. 384

Thus saying, from her husband's hand her hand

Soft

bited with him above a month, before she was very desirous of returning to her friends in the country, there to spend the remainder of the summer. We may suppose, that upon this occasion their conversation was somewhat of the same nature as Adam and Eve's; and it was upon some such considerations as this, that after much solicitation he permitted her to go,

Go; for thy stay, not free, absents thee more.

It is the more probable, that he alluded to his own case in this account of Adam and Eve's parting, as in the account of their reconciliation it will appear that he copied exactly what happen'd to himself.

385. *Thus saying, from her husband's hand her hand*

Soft she withdrew, &c.] The reader cannot but be pleas'd with this image. Notwithstanding this difference of judgment, while Adam is reasoning and

Soft she withdrew, and like a Wood-Nymph light,
Oread or Dryad, or of Delia's train,
Betook her to the groves, but Delia's self
In gate surpass'd, and Goddess-like deport,

Though

and arguing with her, he still holds her by the hand, which she gently withdraws, a little impatient to be gone, even while she is speaking. And then *like a Wood-Nymph light, Oread a nymph of the mountains, or Dryad a nymph of the groves, of the oaks particularly, or of Delia's train*, the train of Diana, who is called *Delia* as she was born in the island Delos, she *betook her to the groves*; but she surpass'd not only Diana's nymphs, but Diana herself. But as this beautiful similitude is formed very much upon one in Homer, and its parallel in Virgil, it may be proper to quote them both in order to make the beauties of this better apprehended, Hom. Odyss. VI. 102.

Ὅτι δ' Ἀρτεμις εἰσι κατ' ἐρεθ-
ιοχέαιρα,

Ἡ κατὰ Τηϋγέτον περικηκετον,
ἢ Ερυμανθον,

Τερπομένη καπροῖσι καὶ ὠκείῃς
ελαφοῖσι·

Τῇ δὲ δ' ἅμα Νυμφαί, κεραὶ
Διὸς Αἰγιοχοῖο,

Ἀγρονομοὶ παίζουσι γέγηθε δὲ
τε φρενα Λητῶ·

Πασσάν δ' ὑπὲρ ἥγε καρήν εχει
ἠδὲ μετώπα,

Ρεῖα δ' αἰψώτῃ πελεται, καλαὶ
δὲ τε πασαι·

Ὡς ἢ γ' ἀμφιπολοῖσι μετεπρεπε
παρθένος ἀδμης.

As when o'er Erymanth Diana
roves,

Or wide Taygetus' resounding
groves;

A sylvan train the huntress queen
surrounds,

Her rattling quiver from her shoul-
der sounds:

Fierce in the sport, along the moun-
tain brow

They bay the boar, or chase the
bounding roe:

High o'er the lawn, with more ma-
jestic pace,

Above the nymphs she treads with
stately grace;

Distinguish'd excellence the God-
dess proves;

Exults Latona as the Virgin moves.
With equal grace Nausicaa trod the

plain,

And shone transcendent o'er the
beauteous train. Broome.

Qualis in Eurotæ ripis, aut per juga
Cynthi

Exercet Diana choros; quam mille
secutæ

Hinc atque hinc glomerantur Orea-
des: illa pharetram

Fert humero, gradienſque Deas su-
pereminet omnes:

Latona tacitum pertentant gaudia
pectus.

Talis erat Dido: talem se læta fe-
rebat

Per medios. Virg. Æn. I. 498.
Such

Though not as she with bow and quiver arm'd, 390
 But with such gard'ning tools as art yet rude,
 Guiltless of fire, had form'd, or Angels brought.
 To Pales, or Pomona, thus adorn'd,

Likest

Such on Eurotas' banks, or Cynthus'
 height,
 Diana seems; and so she charms
 the sight,
 When in the dance the graceful
 Goddess leads
 The quire of Nymphs, and over-
 tops their heads.
 Known by her quiver, and her lofty
 meen,
 She walks majestic, and she looks
 their queen:
 Latona sees her shine above the rest,
 And feeds with secret joy her silent
 breast.
 Such Dido was; with such becoming
 state,
 Amidst the croud, she walks serenely
 great. Dryden.

The others are like Diana in their
 gate, but Eve surpasses her, only she
 wears different ensigns, *not a bow
 and quiver, but such gard'ning tools
 as art yet rude, guiltless of fire, had
 form'd, before fire was as yet stol'n
 from Heaven by Prometheus as the
 Ancients fabled, or such tools as An-
 gels brought.*

393. *To Pales, or Pomona, thus
 adorn'd,*

Likest she seem'd, &c.] These four
 verses Dr. Bentley rejects, as the edi-
 tor's manufacture. Let us examin his
 objections to them. For *likeliest* (says
 he) he meant *likest*. So he did, and
 so the first edition gives it, as the

Doctor might have seen, if he pleas'd,
 because the first edition was before
 him. He objects farther that Eve,
 who was before like the *Wood-
 Nymphs* and *Delia*, is here *likest* to
Pales, or *Pomona*, or *Ceres*; all un-
 like one another, and yet Eve is like
 them all. But he seems not to ob-
 serve, that Eve is here compar'd to
 the latter three, upon a different ac-
 count, than she was compar'd to the
 former. She was liken'd to the
Wood-Nymphs and *Delia* in regard to
 her gate; but now that Milton had
 mention'd her being *arm'd with gar-
 den tools*, he beautifully compares her
 to *Pales*, *Pomona*, and *Ceres*, all three
 Goddesses like to each other in
 these circumstances, that they were
 handsome, that they presided over
 gard'ning and cultivation of ground,
 and that they are usually described
 by the ancient poets, as carrying
 tools of gard'ning or husbandry in
 their hands: thus Ovid in *Metam.*
 XIV. 628. says of *Pomona*,

Nec jaculo gravis est, sed aduncâ
 dextera falce.

The Doctor objects again, and says
 that Eve is not here said to be like
Pomona always, but *when she fled
 Vertumnus*, who would have ravish'd
 her. But Milton's meaning is, that
 she was like *Pomona*, not precisely at
 the hour when she fled *Vertumnus*,
 but at that time of her life when
 Ver-

Likest she seem'd, Pomona when she fled
 Vertumnus, or to Ceres in her prime,
 Yet virgin of Proserpina from Jove.
 Her long with ardent look his eye pursu'd
 Delighted, but desiring more her stay.
 Oft he to her his charge of quick return

395

Repeated,

Vertumnus made his addressees to her, that is when she was in all her perfection of beauty, as describ'd by Ovid in the place above-cited. But the Doctor's greatest quarrel is with the latter part of these four verses: *Ceres in her prime*, says he? What? have Goddesses the decays of old age, and do they grow past their prime? And yet it is very frequent with the old poets to describe their Gods as passing from youth to old age. Juvenal says in Sat. VI. 15.

— sed Jove nondum
 Barbato.

Virgil describes Charon thus, *Æn.* VI. 304.

Jam senior; sed cruda Deo viridif-
 que senectus.

And again we have in *Æn.* VII. 180. *Saturnusque senex*. But what monster of a phrase (says the Doctor) is that *virgin of Proserpina*? And I confess that it is one of the most forc'd expressions in this whole poem: probably our poet was led into it, by imitating the like phrase of some Italian poet. But the sense is plain enough, viz. that she had not yet borne *Proserpina*, who deriv'd her birth from *Jove*: for the like use of

the word *from*, when other words are to be supply'd in the sense, see II. 542. and VIII. 213. I have met with some gentlemen, who thought that the last of these verses ought to be read thus,

— or to Ceres in her prime
 Yet virgin, or Proserpina from Jove.

And this reading at first sight is very apt to please and persuade one of its genuineness, because it frees the text from that hard expression, *virgin of Proserpina*: but when we consider the matter farther, it will be found that Milton could never have intended to compare Eve with Proserpina, because she had nothing to do with husbandry or gard'ning, on account of which only this comparison is introduc'd. *Pearce.*

394. *Likest she seem'd,*] So it is in Milton's first edition; in the second edition by mistake it is printed *Likeliest*, and this has been follow'd in all the editions since, at least in all that I have seen.

395. — *Ceres in her prime,*
Yet virgin of Proserpina from Jove,] This seems to be a Grecism, and translated from Theocritus (*Idyl.* II. 136.)

Repeated, she to him as oft engag'd 400
 To be return'd by noon amid the bower,
 And all things in best order to invite
 Noontide repast, or afternoon's repose.
 O much deceiv'd, much failing, hapless Eve,
 Of thy presum'd return! event perverse! 405

Thou

136.) who says *παρθενον εν θαλαμῳ* for *Virginem innuptam*. 'Tis the same turn of expression in both. So that Dr. Bentley was strangely mistaken in calling it *a monster of an expression, and not human language*; it having an elegance superior in my opinion to the English phrase—"a virgin, not having yet conceived Proserpina who was begot by Jove." Warburton.

hardly have said *amid the bower*, but rather *at the bower* or *in the bower*; but *amid the bower and all things* is right.

404. O much deceiv'd, much failing, hapless Eve,

Of thy presum'd return!] That is, much failing of thy presum'd return. These beautiful apostrophes and anticipations are frequent in the poets, who affect to speak in the character of prophets, and like men inspir'd with the knowledge of futurity. Thus Virgil to Turnus *Æn.* X. 501.

401. To be return'd by noon amid the bower,

And all things in best order to invite &c.] Here seems to be a want of a verb before *all things* &c. Dr. Bentley therefore reads

To be return'd by noon, and at the bower

Have all things in best order to invite.

But if it be necessary to insert the word *have*, I would read thus with less alteration,

And all things in best order have to' invite. Pearce.

There seems to be no necessity for any alteration. If *the bower* had been mention'd alone, he would

Nescia mens hominum fati sortisque futuræ,

Et servare modum rebus sublata secundis.

Turno tempus erit, magno cum optaverit emptum

Intactum Pallanta, et cum spolia ista diemque

Oderit.

O mortals! blind in fate, who never know

To bear high fortune, or indure the low.

The time shall come, when Turnus, but in vain,

Shall with untouch'd the trophies of the slain;

Shall

Thou never from that hour in Paradise
 Found'st either sweet repast, or sound repose;
 Such ambush hid among sweet flow'rs and shades
 Waited with hellish rancor imminent
 To intercept thy way, or send thee back 410
 Despoil'd of innocence, of faith, of bliss.
 For now, and since first break of dawn the Fiend,
 Mere serpent in appearance, forth was come,
 And on his quest, where likeliest he might find
 The only two of mankind, but in them 415
 The whole included race, his purpos'd prey.
 In bow'r and field he sought, where any tuft
 Of grove or garden-plot more pleasant lay,
 Their tendence or plantation for delight;
 By fountain or by shady rivulet 420
 He sought them both, but wish'd his hap might find

Eve

Shall wish the fatal belt were far
 away,
 And curse the dire remembrance of
 the day. Dryden.

And Homer Iliad. XVII. 497.

Νηπιοι, ἔδ' ἀρ' ἐμελλον ἀναιμω-
 τει γε νεεδαί.

There is something very moving
 in such reflections concerning the
 vanity of all human hopes, and

how little events answer our ex-
 pectations.

408. *Such ambush hid*] So it is in
 Milton's own editions, and I know
 not how it comes to be printed *Such
 ambush laid*, but so both Dr. Bentley
 and Mr. Fenton have printed it.

427. — *oft stooping to support
 Each flow'r of slender stalk, —
 mindless the while*

Her-

Eve separate, he wish'd, but not with hope
Of what so seldom chanc'd, when to his wish,
Beyond his hope, Eve separate he spies,
Veil'd in a cloud of fragrance, where she stood, 425
Half spy'd, so thick the roses bushing round
About her glow'd, oft stooping to support
Each flow'r of slender stalk, whose head though gay
Carnation, purple', azure, or speck'd with gold,
Hung drooping unsustain'd; them she upstays 430
Gently with myrtle band, mindless the while
Herself, though fairest unsupported flower,
From her best prop so far, and storm so nigh.
Nearer he drew, and many a walk travérs'd
Of stateliest covert, cedar, pine, or palm, 435
Then voluble and bold, now hid, now seen
Among thick-woven arborets and flowers

Im-

Herself, though fairest unsupported flower.] We have the same manner of speaking in IV. 269.
— where Proserpin gathering flowers,
Herself a fairer flow'r by gloomy Dis
Was gather'd.
A thought that must have pleas'd our author, since he has it a second time.
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434. *Nearer he drew, &c.*] The several wiles which are put in practice by the tempter, when he found Eve separated from her husband, the many pleasing images of nature which are intermix'd in this part of the story, with its gradual and regular progress to the fatal catastrophe, are so very remarkable, that it would be superfluous to point out their respective beauties. Addison.

L 438. Im-

Imborder'd on each bank, the hand of Eve:
 Spot more delicious than those gardens feign'd
 Or of reviv'd Adonis, or renown'd 440
 Alcinous, host of old Laertes son,
 Or that, not mystic, where the sapient king
 Held dalliance with his fair Egyptian spouse.

Much

438. *Imborder'd on each bank,*] Dr. Bentley believes that Milton gave it *Imbroider'd*, proper to *thick-woven*. But *imborder'd* is the right word according to Bishop Kennet, who in his glossary to his *Parochial Antiquities* in the word *Bordarii* says, *Some derive it from the old Gallic bords, the limits or extremes of any extent: as the borders of a county and the borderers or inhabitants in these parts. Whence the bordure of a garment, and to imborder which we corrupt to imbroider.* See also Furetiere's French Dictionary on the words *Brodeur* and *Embordurer*.

Pearce.

Imborder'd on each bank, the banks were border'd with the flowers, *the hand of Eve*, the handiwork of Eve, as we say of a picture that it is the hand of such or such a master. And thus Virgil, *Æn.* I. 455.

*Artificumque manus inter se operum-
 que laborem
 Miratur.*

439. *Spot more delicious &c.*] He is not speaking here of Paradise in general, but of this particular spot, the handiwork of Eve; and he says it was more delicious than the gar-

dens of *Adonis* or *Alcinous* are feign'd to be. *Of reviv'd Adonis*; for after he was kill'd by the wild boar, it is said that at Venus's request he was restor'd to life. And we learn from St. Jerom, Cyril, and other writers, that his anniversary festival was open'd with sorrow and mourning for his death, and concluded with singing and rejoicing for his revival. It is very true, as Dr. Bentley says, that *Κηποι Αδωνιδος*, the gardens of *Adonis*, so frequently mention'd by Greek writers, Plato, Plutarch &c. were nothing but portable earthen pots with some lettuce or fenel growing in them, and thrown away the next day after the yearly festival of *Adonis*: whence *the gardens of Adonis* grew to be a proverb of contempt for any fruitless, fading, perishable affair. But, as Dr. Pearce replies, Why did the Grecians on *Adonis's* festival carry these small earthen gardens about in honor of him? was it not because they had a tradition, that when he was alive he delighted in gardens, and had a magnificent one? Pliny mentions the gardens of *Adonis* and *Alcinous* together as Milton does. *There is nothing that the Ancients admir'd more than the gardens of the Hesperides,*

Much he the place admir'd, the person more.
 As one who long in populous city pent, 445
 Where houses thick and sewers annoy the air,
 Forth issuing on a summer's morn to breathe
 Among the pleasant villages and farms
 Adjoin'd, from each thing met conceives delight,
 The

rides, and those of the kings Adonis and Alcinous. Antiquitas nihil prius mirata est quam Hesperidum hortos, ac regum Adonidis & Alcinoi. Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. XIX. cap. 4. The Italian poet Marino in his *L'Adone*, Cant. VI. describes the gardens of Adonis at large: and Huetius in his *Demonstr. Evangel.* Prop. 4. cap. 3. sect. 3. says of the Greeks, Regem Adonidem hortorum curæ impensè fuisse deditum narrantes. Our countryman Spenser celebrates the gardens of Adonis in his *Fairy Queen*, Book 3. Cant. 6. the title of which is

The gardens of Adonis, fraught
 With pleasures manifold;

where he likewise gives an account of his death and revival. Shakespear too mentions the garden of Adonis, 1 Part of Henry VI. Act I. The Dauphin speaks to Pucelle,

Thy promises are like Adonis' garden,
 That one day bloom'd, and fruitful were the next.

And Milton himself in the *Mask* speaks of

Beds of hyacinth and roses,
 Where young Adonis oft reposes,

Waxing well of his deep wound
 In slumber soft:

And in his *Defensio Secunda* he mentions both the gardens of Alcinous and Adonis, and here calls them *feign'd*, which sufficiently distinguishes these gardens of Adonis from those little earthen pots which were really exhibited at his festival. And the gardens of *Alcinous* he has alluded to before V. 341. *Alcinous*, host to old Laertes son, that is to Ulysses whom he entertain'd in his return from Troy, as Homer informs us *Odyssey* book the 7th, where he gives us a charming description of his gardens; which Mr. Pope selected from other parts of Homer's works, and translated and publish'd in the *Guardian* before he attempted the rest. Or that, not mystic, not fabulous as the rest, not allegorical as some have fancied, but a real garden, which Solomon made for his wife the daughter of Pharaoh king of Egypt. See *Canticles*. And thus, as the most beautiful countries in the world, IV. 268. — 285. could not vye with Paradise, so neither could the most delicious gardens equal this flow'ry plat, the sweet recess of Eve.

The smell of grain, or tedded grafs, or kine, 450
 Or dairy', each rural fight, each rural found;
 If chance with nymphlike ſtep fair virgin paſs,
 What pleaſing ſeem'd, for her now pleaſes more,
 She moſt, and in her look ſums all delight:
 Such pleaſure took the Serpent to behold 455
 This flow'ry plat, the ſweet reſeſ of Eve
 Thus early, thus alone; her heav'nly form
 Angelic, but more ſoft, and feminine,
 Her graceful innocence, her every air

Of

450. — *tedded grafs,*] Grafs juſt
 mow'd and ſpread for drying.

Richardſon.

See likewiſe Lye's Junii Etymologi-
 cum under the word *Tede*.

453. *What pleaſing ſeem'd, for her
 now pleaſes more,*] Did not
 the beautiful aſſemblage of proper
 circumſtances in this charmingly na-
 tural and familiar ſimile lead one to
 think, that Milton took the hint
 of it from ſome real ſcene of this
 ſort, which had ſome time or other
 ſmit his fancy, I ſhould be apt to
 think that he alluded to this ſame
 thought in Spenſer, who deſcribing
 his hero Guyon with a fair lady upon
 a little iſland adorn'd with all the
 beauties of nature adds, Fairy
 Queen, B. 2. Cant. 6. St. 24.

And all though pleaſant, yet ſhe
 made much more. *Thyer.*

457. — *her heav'nly form &c.*] This is a ſcene of much the ſame

nature with that betwixt the Saracen
 king Aladin and the Italian virgin
 Sophronia in the 2d Canto of Taſſo's
 Jeruſalem: and tho' perhaps it would
 be going too far to ſay that Milton
 has borrowed from thence, yet I
 think it muſt give the reader ſome
 pleaſure to ſee, how two great ge-
 niuſes naturally fall into the ſame
 thoughts upon ſimilar ſubjects. Mil-
 ton ſpeaking of Eve ſays,

— her every air
 Of geſture or leaſt action over-
 aw'd
 His malice, &c.

Taſſo ſpeaking of Sophronia's ad-
 dreſſing herſelf to the fierce Aladin
 ſays,

A l'honeſta baldanza, a l'impro-
 viſo
 Folgorar di bellezze altere, e ſante,
 Quasi confuſo il re, quaſi conquiſo
 Frenò lo ſdegno, e placò il fier
 ſembante.

How

Of gesture or least action overaw'd 460
 His malice, and with rapin sweet bereav'd
 His fierceness of the fierce intent it brought :
 That space the Evil one abstracted stood
 From his own ev'il, and for the time remain'd
 Stupidly good, of enmity disarm'd, 465
 Of guile, of hate, of envy, of revenge ;
 But the hot Hell that always in him burns,
 Though in mid Heav'n, soon ended his delight,
 And tortures him now more, the more he fees

Of

How like again is what Milton says
 of Satan,

That space the Evil one abstracted
 stood
 From his own evil, and for the
 time remain'd
 Stupidly good,——

to what Tasso says of the state of
 Aladin's mind,

Fù stupor, fù vaghezza, e fù diletto,
 S'amor non fù, che mosse il cor
 villano !

They both also agree in making
 each of them immediately to relapse
 into their first character. Milton

—— then soon

Fierce hate he recollects,——

Tasso,

Qui comincia il tiranno a risdeg-
 narsi :

It must be own'd however, that not-
 withstanding this similitude of cir-

cumstances, the English poet vastly
 excels the Italian both in strength of
 sentiments, and beauty of expression.
 It may be further observed, that
 there never was a finer or juster com-
 pliment paid to beauty than is here
 by Milton, as it is not made up of
 rant and rhapsody as most of this
 kind are, but only saying what one
 may easily imagin might have really
 happen'd upon the sight of so de-
 lightful a scene. *Thyer.*

462. *His fierceness of the fierce intent*
 Tho' Dr. Bentley thinks it jejune,
 yet such a repetition is not uncom-
 mon in the best poets.

Et nostro doluisti sæpe dolore.

Virg. *Æn.* I. 669.

468. *Though in mid Heav'n,*] That
 is, would do though he were in
 Heaven, or it may be understood as
 if he were sometimes in Heaven,
 and justify'd by Job I. 6. II. 1.
There was a day, when the sons of
 L 3 *God*

Of pleasure not for him ordain'd: then soon 470
 Fierce hate he recollects, and all his thoughts
 Of mischief, gratulating, thus excites.

Thoughts, whither have ye led me! with what sweet
 Compulsion thus transported to forget
 What hither brought us! hate, not love, nor hope
 Of Paradise for Hell, hope here to taste 476
 Of pleasure, but all pleasure to destroy,
 Save what is in destroying; other joy
 To me is lost. Then let me not let pass
 Occasion which now smiles; behold alone 480
 The woman, opportune to all attempts,
 Her husband, for I view far round, not nigh,
 Whose higher intellectual more I shun,
 And strength, of courage haughty, and of limb

Heroic

God came to present themselves before the Lord, and Satan came also among them to present himself before the Lord. And Satan speaks to the same purpose in Paradise Regain'd, I. 366.

— nor from the Heav'n of Heav'ns
 Hath he excluded my resort some-
 times &c.

478. — other joy
To me is lost.] How exactly does Milton make Satan keep up the character he had assum'd in the fourth book, where he says

Ev'l be thou my good &c! Thyer.

486. — *exempt from wound,] As*

Eve had said before that they were not capable of death or pain, ver. 283. that is as long as they continued innocent.

490. *Not terrible, though terror be in love*

And beauty, not approach'd by stronger hate,] Satan had been saying that he dreaded Adam, such was his strength of body and mind, and his own so debas'd from what it was in Heaven: but Eve (he goes on to say) is lovely, not terrible, though terror be in love and beauty, unless 'tis approach'd by a mind arm'd with hate as his is; a hate the

Heroic built, though of terrestrial mold, 485
Foe not formidable, exempt from wound,
I not; so much hath Hell debas'd, and pain
Infeebled me, to what I was in Heaven.
She fair, divinely fair, fit love for Gods,
Not terrible, though terror be in love 490
And beauty, not approach'd by stronger hate,
Hate stronger, under show of love well feign'd,
The way which to her ruin now I tend.

So spake the enemy' of mankind, inclos'd
In serpent, inmate bad, and toward Eve 495
Address'd his way, not with indented wave,
Prone on the ground, as since, but on his rear,
Circular base of rising folds, that tower'd
Fold above fold a furling maze, his head

Crested

the greater, as 'tis disguis'd under indenture, notched and going in and dissembled love. An excellent writer out like the teeth of a saw: and (Dr. Pearce) hath observed on this Shakespear applies it likewise to the passage that "A beautiful woman motions of a snake in As you like it, " is approach'd with terror, unless Act IV.

" he who approaches her has a And with indented glides did slip " stronger hatred of her than her away.

" beauty can beget love in him." 499. Fold above fold &c.] We have Richardson. the description of such a sort of serpent in Ovid. Met. III. 32.

Something like this in Paradise Re- gain'd. II. 159. — cristis præsignis & auro; igne micant oculi —

— virgin majesty with mild And sweet allay'd, yet terrible t'ap- Ille volubilibus squamosos nexibus proach. Thyer. orbes

496. — not with indented wave.] Torquet, et immensos saltu sinuatur Indented is of the same derivation as in arcus :

Crested aloft, and carbuncle his eyes;
 With burnish'd neck of verdant gold, erect
 Amidst his circling spires, that on the grass

500

Floted

Ac media plus parte leves erectus
 in auras,

Despiciat omne nemus &c.

Fire broke in flashes when he glanc'd
 his eyes;

His tow'ring crest was glorious to
 behold,

His shoulders and his sides were
 scal'd with gold.—

Spire above spire uprear'd in air
 he stood,

And gazing round him overlook'd
 the wood. Addison.

But our author has not only imitated Ovid, but has ransack'd all the good poets, who have ever made a remarkable description of a serpent; and the reader may observe some touches very like Grotius's description of the same serpent in his tragedy of Adamus Exul. Act IV.

— oculi ardent duo,

Carbunculorum luce certantes rubra:
 Adrecta cervix surgit, et maculis
 nitet

Pectus superbis: cæculis picti notis
 Sinuantur orbes: tortiles spiræ mi-
 cant

Auri colore &c.

504. — never since of serpent
 kind &c.] Satan is not here compar'd and preferr'd to the finest and most memorable serpents of antiquity, the Python and the rest; but only to the most memorable of those serpents into which others were transform'd; and with the

greater propriety, as he was himself now transform'd into a serpent. And in this view it is said that none were *lovelier, not those that in Illyria chang'd Hermione and Cadmus. Cadmus* and his wife *Harmonia* or *Hermione*, for she is called by either name, and I presume Milton thought *Hermione and Cadmus* more musical in verse as it certainly is than *Harmonia and Cadmus*. This *Cadmus* together with his wife leaving Thebes in Bœotia, which he had founded and for diverse misfortunes quitted, and coming into *Illyria*, they were both turned into serpents for having slain one sacred to Mars, as we read in the fourth book of Ovid's *Metamorphosis*. But the expression, *those that chang'd Hermione and Cadmus*, has occasion'd some difficulty. Did those serpents, says Dr. Bentley, *change Hermione and Cadmus?* or were not these, who were man and woman once, *chang'd* into serpents? And Dr. Pearce replies, We may excuse this as a poetical liberty of expression; 'tis much the same as the critics have observed in Ovid's *Metam. I. 1.* where *formas mutatas in nova corpora* stands for *corpora mutata in novas formas*. In both places the *changing* is attributed, not to the persons chang'd, but to the forms or shapes into which they were chang'd. Which *chang'd Hermione and Cadmus*, that is into which *Hermione and Cadmus* were chang'd. So Horace says, *Sat. II. VIII. 49.*

— aceto

Floted redundant: pleasing was his shape,
And lovely; never since of serpent kind
Lovelier, not those that in Illyria chang'd

505
Her-

— aceto

Quod Methymnæam vitio mutaverit
uvam,

for in quod vitio mutata est uva Methymnæa. If this may not be allow'd to pass, yet I see no reason (says Dr. Pearce) why the construction may not be this, *not those that in Illyria (were) chang'd, viz. Hermione and Cadmus &c.* Or perhaps this; *not those that Hermione and Cadmus chang'd, where chang'd stands for chang'd to, as in X. 540.* we have the same way of speaking,

— for what they saw,

They felt themselves now *changing*.

But after all these very ingenious conjectures I conceive the meaning to be as it is express'd, and the expression to be the most proper and apposite that could be. The serpents *chang'd Hermione and Cadmus*. The form of serpents was superinduc'd, but they still retain'd the same sense and memory; and this Ovid says expressly. When Cadmus was first chang'd, IV. 595.

— Ille suæ lambēbat conjugis ora;
Inque sinus caros, veluti cognosceret, ibat;
Et dabat amplexus, affuetaque colla petebat.

The husband-serpent show'd he still
had thought,
With wonted fondness an embrace
he sought;

Play'd round her neck in many a
harmless twist,
And lick'd that bosom which, a
man, he kist.

And after the wife was chang'd too,
it is said, ver. 602.

Nunc quoque nec fugiunt homi-
nem, nec vulnere lædunt:
Quidque prius fuerint, placidi me-
minere dracones.

Fearless see men, by men are fear-
less seen,
Still mild and conscious what they
once have been. Eusden.

They were therefore still Hermione and Cadmus, though chang'd; as the Devil was still the Devil, though inclos'd in serpent. And thus it may be said with the greatest propriety, that none of serpent kind were lovelier, *not those that in Illyria chang'd Hermione and Cadmus, or the God in Epidaurus, that is Æsculapius the God of physic, the son of Apollo, who was worshipped at Epidaurus, a city of Peloponnesus, and being sent for to Rome in the time of a plague assumed the form of a serpent and accompanied the ambassadors, as the story was related in the eleventh book of Livy, and may still be read in the fifteenth book of Ovid's Metamorphosis: but tho' he was thus chang'd in appearance, he was still Æsculapius, In serpente Deus as Ovid calls him XV. 670. the deity in a serpent, and under that form*
con-

Hermione and Cadmus, or the God
 In Epidaurus; nor to which transform'd
 Ammonian Jove, or Capitoline was seen,
 He with Olympias, this with her who bore
 Scipio the highth of Rome. With tract oblique 510
 At first, as one who sought access, but fear'd
 To interrupt, side-long he works his way.
 As when a ship by skilful steersman wrought

Nigh

continued to be worshipped at Rome. Nor were those serpents lovelier, to which transform'd Ammonian Jove or Capitoline was seen, Jupiter Ammon and Jupiter Capitolinus, the one the Lybian Jupiter, the other the Roman, called Capitoline from the Capitol his temple at Rome: He with Olympias, the first the pretended father of Alexander the great, conversing with his mother Olympias in the form of a serpent; this with her who bore Scipio the highth of Rome, the latter fabled in like manner to have been the father of Scipio Africanus, who raised his country and himself to the highest pitch of glory. Dr. Bentley objects to this expression *the highth of Rome*. But as Dr. Pearce observes in answer, this expression is much of the same nature with Ovid's *Summa ducum Atrides*, Amor. l. 1. el. 9. v. 37. and with Cicero's expression *Apex senectutis est auctoritas*. de Senect.: The Italians, whose expressions Milton often imitates, use *altezza* in the same sense, if I remember aright.

513. *As when a ship &c.*] There are some Latin poems of Andrew Ramsay, a Scotchman in the time of Charles the first, under this title *Poemata sacra Andreæ Ramsæi Pastoris Edinburgeni*. Edinburgi 1633. The book is now grown very scarce, but there are few poems in it. The principal is one in four books, the first of the creation, the second of the happy state of man, the third of the fall of man, the fourth of the redemption of man by Jesus Christ: and this poem was recommended to me as a performance to which Milton had been much oblig'd and indebted: but upon perusing it I do not well see how two authors could write so much upon the same subjects, and write more differently. There are few or no traces to be discover'd of any similitude or resemblance between them, but in the simile before us, and the following one of the Scotch poet, and these are so different, and applied so differently, that they may both be originals, or at least not the copy the one

Nigh river's mouth or foreland, where the wind
Veers oft, as oft so steers, and shifts her sail: 515
So varied he, and of his tortuous train
Curl'd many a wanton wreath in fight of Eve,
To lure her eye; she busied heard the sound
Of rustling leaves, but minded not, as us'd
To such disport before her through the field, 520
From every beast, more duteous at her call,

Than

one of the other. Milton's is applied to the oblique motion of the serpent, this of Ramsay to the Devil tempting our Saviour, and when one temptation would not avail, trying another: might still say with truth that he pursued Things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme.

— Ut vento portum qui forte
 reflante
Non potis est capere, is malos et
 lintea vela
Carbasseosque sinus obliquat, ten-
 dere recta
Qua nequit, incurvo radit vada cæ-
 rula cursu;
Sic gnarus versare dolos, et ima-
 gine falsa
Ludere Tartareus coluber, contin-
 gere metam
Se non posse videns primo moli-
 mine, cursum
Mutat, et ad palmam converso tra-
 mite tendit.

And in the general it may be said, that resemblance is not plagiarism. Different authors may possibly hit upon the same thought without borrowing from one another. An author, of great reading especially, may be ting'd and color'd as it were by his reading; his writings may have something of the taste of the books which he has read without his knowing it, as the stream partakes of the qualities of the earth thro' which it passes; and he may sometimes make use of the thoughts of others, and still believe them his own. This may be the case with regard to those authors, whom he is known to have read; and much less can he be certainl; charg'd with stealing from authors, when it is very uncertain whether he has read them or not.

So that upon the whole it is to be question'd whether Milton had ever seen these poems of Ramsay, or knew any thing of them; and he

Than at Circean call the herd disguis'd.
 He bolder now, uncall'd before her stood,
 But as in gaze admiring: oft he bow'd
 His turret crest, and sleek enamel'd neck, 525
 Fawning, and lick'd the ground whereon she trod.
 His gentle dumb expression turn'd at length
 The eye of Eve to mark his play; he glad
 Of her attention gain'd, with serpent tongue
 Organic, or impulse of vocal air, 530
 His fraudulent temptation thus began.

Wonder not, sovran Mistress, if perhaps
 Thou canst, who art sole wonder; much less arm
 Thy looks, the Heav'n of mildness, with disdain,
 Displeas'd that I approach thee thus, and gaze 535
 Infatiate, I thus single, nor have fear'd
 Thy awful brow, more awful thus retir'd.
 Fairest resemblance of thy Maker fair,

Thee

522. *Than at Circean call the herd
 disguis'd.*] All beasts of the
 field used to play and sport before
 her, more obedient to her voice,
 than men turn'd into beasts by the
 famous inchantress Circe were at
 her beck. Ovid. Metam. XIV. 45.

——— perque ferarum
 Agmen adulantum media procedit
 ab aula. *Hume.*

530. *Organic, or impulse of vocal
 air,*] That the Devil moved
 the serpent's tongue, and used it as
 an instrument to form that tempting
 speech he made to Eve, is the opi-
 nion of some; that he form'd a
 voice by impression of the sounding
 air, distant from the serpent, is that
 of others: of which our author has
 left the curious to their choice.

Hume.
 531. *His*

Thee all things living gaze on, all things thine
 By gift, and thy celestial beauty' adore 540
 With ravishment beheld, there best beheld
 Where universally admir'd; but here
 In this inclosure wild, these beasts among,
 Beholders rude, and shallow to discern
 Half what in thee is fair, one man except, 545
 Who sees thee? (and what is one?) who shouldst be seen
 A Goddess among Gods, ador'd and serv'd
 By Angels numberless, thy daily train.

So glaz'd the Tempter, and his proem tun'd;
 Into the heart of Eve his words made way, 550
 Though at the voice much marveling; at length
 Not unamaz'd she thus in answer spake.
 What may this mean? language of man pronounc'd
 By tongue of brute, and human sense express'd?
 The first at least of these I thought deny'd 555
 To

531. *His fraudulent temptation thus began.*] We see by this first speech of Satan what our author thought the most probable, the most natural, and the most successful way of beginning a temptation upon a woman, namely flattery, extravagant admiration of her person, and fulsome commendations of her merit and beauty, and by these means engaging her attention, and so deluding

her to her ruin. This speech is much of the same strain and spirit with that which Satan had made to her before in her dream, V. 37, &c: and it had a fatal effect, for

Into the heart of Eve his words made way.

To cry her up as a Goddess was the readiest way to make her a mere mortal.

556.—*whom*

To beasts, whom God on their creation-day
 Created mute to all articulate sound;
 The latter I demur, for in their looks
 Much reas'on, and in their actions oft appears.
 Thee, Serpent, subtlest beast of all the field 560
 I knew, but not with human voice indued;
 Redouble then this miracle, and say,
 How cam'st thou speakable of mute, and how
 To me so friendly grown above the rest
 Of brutal kind, that daily are in sight: 565
 Say, for such wonder clames attention due.

To whom the guileful Tempter thus reply'd.
 Empress of this fair world, resplendent Eve,
 Easy to me it is to tell thee all [obey'd:
 What thou command'st, and right thou shouldst be'
 I was at first as other beasts that graze 571
 The

556. — *whom God on their creation day*
Created mute] This is mere fillings, says Dr. Bentley; for when could they be created, but on their creation-day? But this is exactly in the stile of Scripture, Gen. II. 4. *These are the generations of the Heavens and of the Earth when they were created; in the day that the Lord God made the Earth and the Heavens.*

563. *How cam'st thou speakable of mute,*] The word *speakable* is used in an active as well as in a passive sense, and may signify *what can speak* as well as *what can be spoken*. Here it is to be understood in the former sense, *speakable* or able to speak, as *comfortable*, *delectable*, *passable* &c signify *able to comfort*, *to delight*, *to pass* &c. And there are instances of such words used sometimes actively and sometimes passively in the best authors. Thus in Horace the word *illacrymabilis* is used in its passive signification. Od. IV. IX. 26.
 — sed

The trodden herb, of abject thoughts and low,
 As was my food; nor ought but food discern'd
 Or sex, and apprehended nothing high:
 Till on a day roving the field, I chanc'd 575
 A goodly tree far distant to behold
 Loaden with fruit of fairest colors mix'd,
 Ruddy and gold: I nearer drew to gaze;
 When from the boughs a savory odor blown,
 Grateful to appetite, more pleas'd my sense 580
 Than smell of sweetest fenel, or the teats
 Of ewe or goat dropping with milk at even,
 Unsuck'd of lamb or kid, that tend their play.
 To satisfy the sharp desire I had
 Of tasting those fair apples, I resolv'd 585
 Not to defer; hunger and thirst at once,
 Pow'rful persuaders, quicken'd at the sent

Of

— *sed omnes illacrymabiles*
Urgentur; —

and in its active signification, Od. II.
 XIV. 6.

— *places illacrymabilem*
Plutona tauris.

581. — *sweetest fenel, or the teats*] He mentions such things as were reputed most agreeable to serpents. *Feniculum anguibus gratissimum*, says Pliny, Nat. Hist. L. 19. c. 9.

Sect. 56. They were likewise supposed to suck the teats of ewes and goats.

585. — *those fair apples*,] There is no knowing for certain what the forbidden fruit was. The common notion is that it was a sort of apple, and that is sufficient to justify a poet. So Otway,

— and for an apple damn'd mankind.

601. — *shape*

Of that alluring fruit, urg'd me so keen.
 About the mossy trunk I wound me soon,
 For high from ground the branches would require 590
 Thy utmost reach or Adam's: Round the tree
 All other beasts that saw, with like desire
 Longing and envying stood, but could not reach.
 Amid the tree now got, where plenty hung
 Tempting so nigh, to pluck and eat my fill 595
 I spar'd not, for such pleasure till that hour
 At feed or fountain never had I found.
 Sated at length, ere long I might perceive
 Strange alteration in me, to degree
 Of reason in my inward pow'rs, and speech 600
 Wanted not long, though to this shape retain'd.
 Thenceforth to speculations high or deep

I

601. — *shape retain'd*] Bentley would have it *restrain'd*. But the word of exactest propriety is *retain'd*. For *retain'd* signifies the being kept within such and such bounds in a natural state; *restrain'd* to be kept within them in an unnatural; but the serpent's being confin'd to his own shape, was being in his natural state. Warburton.

605. — *or Middle*,] In the air, the element placed between, and as our author says *spun out between*, Heaven and Earth VII. 241. Hume.

605. — *all things fair and good; But all that fair and good in thy divine Semblance, and in thy beauty's heav'nly ray United I beheld*;] This is very like what Adam had said before to the Angel, VIII. 471.

— *so lovely fair,*
 That what seem'd fair in all the world, seem'd now
 Mean, or in her summ'd up, in her contain'd
 And in her looks:

And

I turn'd my thoughts, and with capacious mind
 Consider'd all things visible in Heaven,
 Or Earth, or Middle, all things fair and good; 605
 But all that fair and good in thy divine
 Semblance, and in thy beauty's heav'nly ray
 United I beheld; no fair to thine
 Equivalent or second, which compell'd
 Me thus, though importune perhaps, to come 610
 And gaze, and worship thee of right declar'd
 Sovran of creatures, universal Dame.

So talk'd the spirited fly Snake; and Eve
 Yet more amaz'd unwary thus reply'd.
 Serpent, thy overpraising leaves in doubt 615
 The virtue of that fruit, in thee first prov'd :
 But say, where grows the tree, from hence how far?

For

And it is really wonderful, that the poet could express things so much alike so differently, and yet both so well. The numbers too, as well as the sentiments, are equally admirable in both places

609. *Equivalent or second.*] Nec viget quicquam simile aut secundum. Hor. Od. I. XII. 18.

612. — *universal Dame.*] The word *Dame* conveys a low idea at present: but formerly it was an appellation of respect and honor, and

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signified mistress or lady, and was probably derived from the French *dame* and the Latin *domina*. *Universal Dame*, *Domina universi*.

613. — *So talk'd &c.*] Milton has shown more art and ability in taking off the common objections to the Mosaic history of the temptation by the addition of some circumstance of his own invention, than in any other theologic part of his poem. Warburton.

M

618. — *trees*

For many are the trees of God that grow
 In Paradise, and various, yet unknown
 To us, in such abundance lies our choice, 620
 As leaves a greater store of fruit untouch'd,
 Still hanging incorruptible, till men
 Grow up to their provision, and more hands
 Help to disburden Nature of her birth.

To whom the wily Adder, blithe and glad. 625
 Empress, the way is ready, and not long,
 Beyond a row of myrtles, on a flat,
 Fast by a fountain, one small thicket past
 Of blowing myrrh and balm ; if thou accept
 My conduct, I can bring thee thither soon. 630

Lead then, said Eve. He leading swiftly roll'd
 In

618. — *trees of God*] A Scripture phrase, as in Psal. CIV. 16.

624. — *birth*.] In Milton's own editions this word is spelt *beareth* in this place, but as in all other places he spells it *birth*, we see no reason for an alteration here, and possibly this may be nothing but an error of the press.

631. — *He leading swiftly roll'd In tangles*,] This is Virgil's *rapit orbis per humum*: but I think Tasso much exceeds them both in describing the rolling of a serpent. Cant. 15. St. 48.

Hor rientra in se stesso, hor le nodose

Rote distende, e se dopo se tira.
 Thyer.

634. — *as when a wand'ring fire, &c.*] I have avoided mentioning any particular similitudes in my remarks on this great work, because I have given a general account of them in my notes on the first book. There is one however, in this part of the poem, which I shall here quote, as it is not only very beautiful, but the closest of any in the whole poem; I mean that where

In tangles, and made intricate seem strait,
 To mischief swift. Hope elevates, and joy
 Brightens his crest; as when a wand'ring fire,
 Compact of unctuous vapor, which the night 635
 Condenses, and the cold environs round,
 Kindled through agitation to a flame,
 Which oft, they say, some evil Spi'rit attends,
 Hovering and blazing with delusive light,
 Misleads th' amaz'd night-wand'rer from his way 640
 To bogs and mires, and oft through pond or pool,
 There swallow'd up and lost, from succour far.
 So glister'd the dire Snake, and into fraud
 Led Eve our credulous mother, to the tree
 Of prohibition, root of all our woe; 645
 Which

where the serpent is describ'd as rolling forward in all his pride, animated by the evil Spirit, and conducting Eve to her destruction, while Adam was at too great a distance from her to give her his assistance. These several particulars are all of them wrought into the following similitude.

—— Hope elevates, and joy
 Brightens his crest; as when a wand'ring fire, &c. Addison.

And there is not perhaps any more philosophic account of the *ignis fatuus*, than what is contain'd in these

lines. Philosophy and poetry are here mix'd together.

643. — *and into fraud*] Fraud signifies hurt and damage, as well as deceit and delusion. Virg. *Æn.* X. 72.

Quis Deus in fraudem, quæ dura potentia nostra Egit?

And Milton often uses English words in the Latin signification.

644. — *the tree Of prohibition,*] An Hebraism for the prohibited or forbidden tree.
 M 2 648. *Fruit-*

Which when she saw, thus to her guide she spake.

Serpent, we might have spar'd our coming hither,
Fruitless to me, though fruit be here to' excess,
The credit of whose virtue rest with thee,
Wondrous indeed, if cause of such effects. 650

But of this tree we may not taste nor touch;
God so commanded, and left that command
Sole daughter of his voice; the rest, we live
Law to ourselves, our reason is our law.

To whom the Tempter guilefully reply'd. 655
Indeed? hath God then said that of the fruit
Of all these garden trees ye shall not eat,
Yet Lords declar'd of all in earth or air?

To

648. *Fruitless to me, though fruit
be here to' excess,*] Besides the
jingle, the same word is used in a
litteral and metaphorical sense, as in
Bion Idyl. I. 16, 17.

Αγριον αγριον ελκθ' εχει κατα
μυρον Αδωνις,
Μειζον δ' α Κυθερεια φερει ποτι
καρδιον ελκθ'.

And not unlike is that in Virgil,
Æn. VII. 295.

Num capti potuere capi? —

653. *Sole daughter of his voice;*] Another Hebraism. *Bath Kol*, *The daughter of a voice* is a noted phrase among the Jews, and they understand by it a voice from Heaven;

and this command is call'd the *sole daughter*, as it is the only command that we read of, that was given to our first parents in Paradise. Thus Adam says IV. 426.

— for well thou know'st
God hath pronounc'd it death to
taste that tree,
The *only* sign of our obedience
left &c.

— Then let us not think hard
One easy prohibition. —

653. — *the rest, we live
Law to ourselves,*] *The rest*, as for what remains, in all things else. A Grecism, and common in Latin. So Virgil, Æn. III. 594. *cætera* Graius. *We live law to ourselves.* Rom. II. 14. *These*

To whom thus Eve yet sinless. Of the fruit
 Of each tree in the garden we may eat, 660
 But of the fruit of this fair tree amidst
 The garden, God hath said, Ye shall not eat
 Thereof, nor shall ye touch it, lest ye die. [bold
 She scarce had said, though brief, when now more
 The Tempter, but with show of zeal and love 665
 To Man, and indignation at his wrong,
 New part puts on, and as to passion mov'd,
 Fluctuates disturb'd, yet comely and in act
 Rais'd, as of some great matter to begin.
 As when of old some orator renown'd 670
 In Athens or free Rome, where eloquence
 Flourish'd,

These having not the law, are a law unto themselves. Richardson.

656. *Indeed? hath God then said that of the fruit*

Of all these garden trees ye shall not eat,] Gen. III. 1. *Yea, hath God said, Ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden?* In which our author has follow'd the Chaldee Paraphrase interpreting the Hebrew particle, *Indeed*. Is it true that God has forbid you to eat of the fruits of Paradise? as if he had forbidden them to taste, not of one, but of all the trees; another of Satan's sly insinuations. The Hebrew particle, *Yea* or *Indeed*, plainly shows that the short and summary account that Moses gives of the Serpent's temp-

tation, has respect to some previous discourse, which could in all probability be no other than what our poet has pitch'd upon. *Hume.*

659. — *Of the fruit &c.*] This is exactly the answer of Eve in Genesis III. 2, 3. put into verse. *We may eat of the fruit of the trees of the garden: But of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden, God hath said, Ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die.* And it shows great art and judgment in our author, in knowing so well when to adhere to the words of Scripture, and when to amplify and enlarge upon them, as he does in Satan's reply to Eve.

Florish'd, since mute, to some great cause address'd
 Stood in himself collected, while each part,
 Motion, each act won audience ere the tongue,
 Sometimes in highth began, as no delay 675
 Of preface brooking through his zeal of right:
 So standing, moving, or to highth up grown,
 The Tempter all impassion'd thus began.

O sacred, wise, and wisdom-giving Plant,
 Mother of science, now I feel thy power 680
 Within me clear, not only to discern
 Things in their causes, but to trace the ways

Of

673. *Stood in himself collected,*] This beautiful and nervous expression, which Milton has used in several places, was, I fancy, adopted from the Italian *in se raccolto*. I don't remember to have met with it in any English writer before his time. *Thyer.*

673. *Stood in himself collected, while each part,*

Motion. each act won audience ere the tongue,] Dr. Bentley says that this passage has not Milton's character nor turn. *Motion*, he thinks, should have *each* before it as well as *part* and *act*: and he asks, What is *each part* and *each act*, before he had spoke a word? He therefore would have it

Stood in himself collected *whole*,
while each

Motion, each *air* won audience ere
 the tongue.

But *act* is right, and is explain'd by Milton himself in ver. 668. to be what an orator puts himself into, before he begins to speak;

— in *act*

Rais'd, as of some great matter to begin.

But I cannot so easily answer the Doctor's objection to *motion's* being destitute of *each*; nor do I understand how any *part* of the orator, consider'd by itself and merely as a part, could win audience. I suspect therefore that an *s* in the copy was mistaken for a comma, and that Milton gave it,

— while each *part's*

Motion, each act won audience ere
 the tongue.

It was the graceful *motion* of *each part* of him, and not the parts themselves, that *won audience* and attention.

Of highest agents, deem'd however wise.
 Queen of this universe, do not believe
 Those rigid threats of death ; ye shall not die : 685
 How should ye ? by the fruit ? it gives you life
 To knowledge ; by the threatner ? look on me,
 Me who have touch'd and tasted, yet both live,
 And life more perfect have attain'd than fate
 Meant me, by vent'ring higher than my lot. 690
 Shall that be shut to Man, which to the Beast
 Is open ? or will God incense his ire
 For such a petty trespass, and not praise

Rather

tion. If it should be objected, that it is not usual with good poets to leave the genitive case thus at the end of a verse, and put the nominative into the following one ; I allow that, tho' it is not very usual, yet it is sometimes done, and Milton himself does it in V. 273.

———— in the sun's

Bright temple, &c. *Pearce.*

Or suppose we should read with less alteration than Dr. Bentley proposes, Stood in himself collected whole, while each Motion, each act won audience ere the tongue.

In himself collected whole, a manner of expression not unlike that in Horace, Sat. II. VII. 86. in seipso totus teres atque rotundus.

675. Sometimes in hight began, as
 no delay

Of preface brooking through his zeal of right :] Thus Cicero in his first oration against Catiline — Quousque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra ? &c. *Thyer.*

685. — ye shall not die :] Gen. III. 4. And the serpent said unto the woman, Ye shall not surely die. And it is very artfully contriv'd by our author to make the Serpent give an instance in himself.

686. How should ye ? by the fruit ?
 it gives you life

To knowledge ; by the threatner ?
 look on me,] So the passage should evidently be pointed. It was printed very wrong in Milton's own editions thus :

How should ye ? by the fruit ? it
 gives you life
 To knowledge ? By the threatner,
 look on me.

M 4

702. Your

Rather your dauntless virtue, whom the pain
 Of death denounc'd, whatever thing death be, 695
 Deterr'd not from achieving what might lead
 To happier life, knowledge of good and evil;
 Of good, how just? of evil, if what is evil
 Be real, why not known, since easier shunn'd?
 God therefore cannot hurt ye, and be just; 700
 Not just, not God; not fear'd then, nor obey'd:
 Your fear itself of death removes the fear.
 Why then was this forbid? Why but to awe,
 Why but to keep ye low and ignorant,
 His worshippers; he knows that in the day 705
 Ye eat thereof, your eyes that seem so clear,
 Yet are but dim, shall perfectly be then
 Open'd and clear'd, and ye shall be as Gods,
 Knowing both good and evil as they know.
 That ye shall be as Gods, since I as Man, 710
 In-

702. *Your fear itself of death removes the fear.* Justice is inseparable from the very being and essence of God, so that could he be unjust, he would be no longer God, and then neither to be obey'd nor feared; so that the fear of death, which does imply injustice in God, destroys itself, because God can as well cease to be, as to be just. A Satanic syllogism. Hume.

705. — *he knows that in the day &c.* Gen. III. 5. *For God doth know, that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be open'd; and ye shall be as Gods, knowing good and evil.* So that where the author comments and enlarges upon Scripture, he still preserves as much as may be the very words of Scripture.

710. *That ye shall be as Gods, &c.* These

Internal Man, is but proportion meet;
 I of brute human, ye of human Gods.
 So ye shall die perhaps, by putting off
 Human, to put on Gods; death to be wish'd, 714
 Though threaten'd, which no worse than this can bring.
 And what are Gods that Man may not become
 As they, participating God-like food?
 The Gods are first, and that advantage use
 On our belief, that all from them proceeds;
 I question it, for this fair earth I see, 720
 Warm'd by the sun, producing every kind,
 Them nothing: if they all things, who inclos'd
 Knowledge of good and evil in this tree,
 That whoso eats thereof, forthwith attains
 Wisdom without their leave? and wherein lies 725
 Th' offense, that Man should thus attain to know?
 What can your knowledge hurt him, or this tree

Im-

These three lines seem to be copied from Grotius, but with improvement. Adamus Exul. Act. IV.

Rationis enim omnino paritas exigit,
 Ego bruta quando bestia evasi lo-
 quens,
 Ex homine, qualis ante, te fieri
 Deam.

714. — to put on Gods;] The Scripture expression as in Cor. XV.

53. For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality.

727. What can your knowledge hurt him, or this tree

Impart against his will if all be his?] Dr. Bentley says that Milton had said Gods in all the argument before, and therefore design'd here,

What

Impart against his will if all be his?
 Or is it envy, and can envy dwell
 In heav'nly breasts? these, these and many more 730
 Causes import your need of this fair fruit.
 Goddess humane, reach then, and freely taste.

He ended, and his words replete with guile
 Into her heart too easy entrance won:
 Fix'd on the fruit she gaz'd, which to behold 735
 Might tempt alone, and in her ears the sound
 Yet rung of his persuasive words, impregn'd
 With reason, to her seeming, and with truth;
 Mean while the hour of noon drew on, and wak'd
 An eager appetite, rais'd by the smell 740
 So savory of that fruit, which with desire,
 Inclenable now grown to touch or taste,
 Solicited her longing eye; yet first
 Pausing a while, thus to herself she mus'd.

Great

What can your knowledge hurt
them, or this tree
 Impart against *their* will, if all be
theirs?

But Milton had said *God* in ver. 692.
 and 700: and I think he uses the
 singular number in the very next
 preceding sentence, ver. 722.

— who inclos'd

Knowledge of good and evil in this
 tree?

So that *him* and *his* here refer to him,
who inclos'd &c. Pearce.

He seems to use both numbers promiscuously, sometimes speaking of *God* and sometimes of *Gods*; and I think we may observe that he generally speaks of *Gods*, when the sentiment would be too horrid, if it was spoken of *God*.

729. — can

Great are thy virtues, doubtless, best of fruits, 745
 Though kept from man, and worthy to be' admir'd,
 Whose taste, too long forborn, at first assay
 Gave elocution to the mute, and taught
 The tongue not made for speech to speak thy
 praise :

Thy praise he also who forbids thy use, 750

Conceals not from us, naming thee the tree
 Of knowledge, knowledge both of good and evil;
 Forbids us then to taste, but his forbidding
 Commends thee more, while it infers the good
 By thee communicated, and our want: 755

For good unknown, sure is not had, or had
 And yet unknown, is as not had at all.

In plain then, what forbids he but to know,
 Forbids us good, forbids us to be wise?

Such prohibitions bind not. But if death 760
 Bind

729. ——— *can envy dwell
 In heav'nly breasts?*] Like that in
 Virgil, Æn. I. 11.

order to make the folly and impiety
 of Eve appear less extravagant and
 monstrous.

Tantæne animis cœlestibus iræ?

750. ——— *he also who forbids*] As
 if it had not been God who had for-
 bidden; but God was not now in
 all her thoughts. She afterwards
 professes herself ignorant of him,
 ver. 775.

739. *Mean while the hour of noon
 drew on, and wak'd*

An eager appetite,] This is a cir-
 cumstance beautifully added by our
 author to the Scripture account, in

777. *Fair*

Bind us with after-bands, what profits then
 Our inward freedom? In the day we eat
 Of this fair fruit, our doom is, we shall die.
 How dies the Serpent? he hath eat'n and lives,
 And knows, and speaks, and reasons, and discerns, 765
 Irrational till then. For us alone
 Was death invented? or to us deny'd
 This intellectual food, for beasts reserv'd?
 For beasts it seems: yet that one beast which first
 Hath tasted, envies not, but brings with joy 770
 The good befall'n him, author unsuspect,
 Friendly to man, far from deceit or guile.
 What fear I then, rather what know to fear
 Under this ignorance of good and evil,
 Of God or death, of law or penalty? 775
 Here grows the cure of all, this fruit divine,
 Fair to the eye, inviting to the taste,

Of

777. *Fair to the eye, inviting to
 the taste,*

*Of virtue to make wise:] Gen.
 III. 6. The woman saw that the tree
 was good for food, and that it was
 pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be
 desired to make one wise.*

792. *And knew not eating death:]*
 'Tis a Greek phrase, us'd often by
 the Latins too. Oppian Halieut.
 II. 106.

— καὶ ἐνοήσαντες ὅτι σπένδοντες
 ολεθρον.

They knew not hast'ning their death.
 Eating the fruit which brought death
 was eating death as being virtually
 contain'd in it. Richardson.

793. *And bighten'd as with wine,
 &c.]* That secret intoxica-
 tion of pleasure, with all those tran-
 sient flushings of guilt and joy, which
 the

Of virtue to make wise: what hinders then
To reach, and feed at once both body' and mind?

So saying, her rash hand in evil hour 780
Forth reaching to the fruit, she pluck'd, she eat:
Earth felt the wound, and Nature from her seat
Sighing through all her works gave signs of woe,
That all was lost. Back to the thicket slunk
The guilty Serpent, and well might, for Eve 785
Intent now wholly on her taste, nought else
Regarded, such delight till then, as seem'd,
In fruit she never tasted, whether true
Or fancy'd so, through expectation high
Of knowledge, nor was God-head from her thought.
Greedily she ingorg'd without restraint, 791
And knew not eating death: Sate at length,
And highten'd as with wine, jocond and boon,
Thus to herself she pleasingly began.

O

the poet represents in our first parents upon their eating the forbidden fruit, to those flaggings of spirit, damps of sorrow, and mutual accusations which succeed it, are conceiv'd with a wonderful imagination, and described in very natural sentiments.

Addison.

794. *Thus to herself &c.*] As our author had in the preceding conference betwixt our first parents de-

scribed with the greatest art and decency the subordination and inferiority of the female character in strength of reason and understanding; so in this soliloquy of Eve's after tasting the forbidden fruit, one may observe the same judgment, in his varying and adapting it to the condition of her fall'n nature. Instead of those little defects in her intellectual faculties before the fall, which were sufficiently

O sovran, virtuous, precious of all trees 795
 In Paradise, of operation blest
 To sapience, hitherto obscur'd, infam'd,
 And thy fair fruit let hang, as to no end
 Created ; but henceforth my early care,
 Not without song, each morning, and due praise, 800
 Shall tend thee, and the fertil burden ease
 Of thy full branches offer'd free to all ;
 Till dieted by thee I grow mature
 In knowledge, as the Gods who all things know ;
 Though others envy what they cannot give ; 805
 For

sufficiently compensated by her outward charms, and were rather softnings than blemishes in her character, we see her now running into the greatest absurdities, and indulging the wildest imaginations. It has been remark'd that our poet in this work seems to court the favor of his female readers very much, yet I cannot help thinking, but that in this place he intended a satirical as well as a moral hint to the ladies, in making one of Eve's first thoughts after her fatal lapse to be, how to get the superiority and mastery over her husband. There is however, I think, a defect in this speech of Eve's, that there is no notice taken of the Serpent in it. Our author very naturally represents her in the first transports of delight expressing her gratitude to the fruit, which she fancied had wrought such a happy change in her, and next to

experience her best guide: but how is it possible that she should in these rapturous acknowledgments forget her guide and instructor the Serpent, to whom in her then notion of things she must think herself the most indebted? I don't doubt but Milton was sensible of this, but had he made Eve mention the Serpent, he could not have avoided too making her observe that he was flunk away, which might have given her some suspicions, and would consequently have much alter'd the scene which follows betwixt Adam and her.

Thyer.

795. — *precious of all trees*] The positive for the superlative; the most precious of all trees; as Virg. *Æn.* IV. 576. *Sequimur te Sancte Deorum*, and Hom. *Iliad.* V. 381. *Δία θεων.* &c. *Richardson.*

799. — *but henceforth my early care,*
Not

For had the gift been theirs, it had not here
 Thus grown. Experience, next to thee I owe,
 Best guide; not following thee I had remain'd
 In ignorance; thou open'st wisdom's way,
 And giv'st access, though secret she retire. 810
 And I perhaps am secret; Heav'n is high,
 High, and remote to see from thence distinct
 Each thing on earth; and other care perhaps
 May have diverted from continual watch
 Our great forbidding, safe with all his spies 815
 About him. But to Adam in what sort
 Shall

*Not without song, each morning, and
 due praise,*

Shall tend thee, &c.] I conceive
 the construction to be, not *My early
 care and due praise shall tend thee*, but
*My early care shall tend thee not with-
 out song and due praise*; and therefore
 have added a comma after *due praise*
 to make the sense plainer.

805. *Though others envy what they
 cannot give;*] She resolves
 to eat of the tree till she equals the
 Gods in knowledge, *though others
 envy*; she means the Gods though
 for decency's sake she names them
 not. She had said before, ver. 770.
 that the *beast which first hath tasted
 envies not &c.* but *others envy*. She
 is now arriv'd to that pitch of im-
 piety, that she attributes *envy* to the
 Gods, as Satan had taught her, ver.
 729. and questions whether this tree
 was their gift, as Satan had likewise

suggested, ver. 718. &c. such impres-
 sion had his doct'rins made upon her.

811. *And I perhaps am secret;*] She questions even God's omni-
 science, and flatters herself that she
 is still in secret, like other finners,
 who say, *The Lord shall not see, nei-
 ther shall the God of Jacob regard it*,
 Psal. XCIV. 7.

815. *Our great forbidding, safe with
 all his spies*

About him.] Dr. Bentley declares
safe to be pure nonsense here, and
 therefore alters the verse thus,

*Our great forbidding's eye, with all
 his spies &c.*

But *safe* signifies here as in the vul-
 gar phrases, *I have him safe*, or *he
 is safe asleep*: where not the safety
 of the person secur'd or asleep is
 meant, but the safety of others with
 respect to any danger from him.
 This

Shall I appear? shall I to him make known
 As yet my change, and give him to partake
 Full happiness with me, or rather not,
 But keep the odds of knowledge in my power 820
 Without copartner? so to add what wants
 In female sex, the more to draw his love,
 And render me more equal, and perhaps,
 A thing not undefirable, sometime
 Superior; for inferior who is free? 825
 This may be well: but what if God have seen,
 And death ensue? then I shall be no more,

And

This is indeed a sense of the word not usual in poetry; but common speech will justify it so far, as to make the Doctor's emendation unnecessary. *Pearce*

818. — *and give him to partake &c.* An ingenious person and great admirer of Milton says, that *to give to do a thing* is in his opinion one of the most beautiful expressions in all the poetical language, as in Hom. Iliad. I. 18.

Ἵμιν μὲν θεοὶ δοῖεν, οὐμπία
 δώματ' ἐχόντες,
 Ἐκπερσαι Πριάμοιο πόλιν, εὐδ' οἴκαδ' ἰκέσθαι.

Virgil was so sensible of this charming expression, that he has used it in the three following passages, and I believe in one or two others in the very first Æneid,

ver. 65.

— tibi Divum pater atque hominum rex

Et mulcere dedit fluctus et tollere vento.

ver. 79.

— tu das epulis accumbere Divum.

ver. 522.

O regina, novam cui condere Jupiter urbem,

Justitiaque dedit gentes frænare superbas.

I wonder he did not farther take notice of the same expression in his favorite Milton, in this place and in I. 736.

— and gave to rule,
 Each in his hierarchy, the orders bright.

823. — and perhaps

A

And Adam wedded to another Eve,
 Shall live with her enjoying, I extinct;
 A death to think. Confirm'd then I resolve, 830
 Adam shall share with me in bliss or woe:
 So dear I love him, that with him all deaths
 I could indure, without him live no life.
 So saying, from the tree her step she turn'd,
 But first low reverence done, as to the Power 835
 That dwelt within, whose presence had infus'd
 Into the plant scintillal sap, deriv'd
 From nectar, drink of Gods. Adam the while

Waiting

*A thing not undesirable, sometime
 Superior; for inferior who is free?]*
 There is a very humorous tale in
 Chaucer, which is also verifiy'd by
 Dryden, wherein the question is pro-
 pos'd, what it is that women most
 affect and desire? Some say wealth,
 some beauty, some flattery, some
 in short one thing, and some ano-
 ther; but the true answer is sovran-
 ty. And the thought of attaining the
 superiority over her husband is very
 artfully made one of the first, that
 Eve entertains after her eating of
 the forbidden fruit: but still her love
 of Adam and jealousy of another
 Eve prevail even over that; so just
 is the observation of Solomon, Cant.
 VIII. 6. *Love is strong as death,
 jealousy is cruel as the grave.*

832. *So dear I love him, that with
 him all deaths*

VOL. II.

*I could indure, without him live no
 life.]* How much stronger
 and more pathetic is this than that
 of Horace, Od. III. IX. 24.

*Tecum vivere amem, tecum obeam
 libens!*

835. *But first low reverence done,
 as to the Power*

That dwelt within,] Eve falling
 into idolatry upon the taste of the
 forbidden tree, as the first fruit of
 disobedience, is finely imagin'd.

Richardson.

838. — *Adam the while &c.]*
 Andromache is thus described as
 amusing herself, and preparing for
 the return of Hector, not knowing
 that he was already slain by Achilles.
 Hom. Iliad. XXII. 440. *Ἀλλ' ἦ γ'
 ἴσον ὑφαινε.* &c.

N

845.—*divine*

Waiting desirous her return, had wove
 Of choicest flow'rs a garland to adorn 840
 Her tresses, and her rural labors crown,
 As reapers oft are wont their harvest queen.
 Great joy he promis'd to his thoughts, and new
 Solace in her return, so long delay'd;
 Yet oft his heart, divine of something ill, 845
 Misgave him; he the faltring measure felt;
 And forth to meet her went, the way she took
 That morn when first they parted; by the tree
 Of knowledge he must pass, there he her met,
 Scarce from the tree returning; in her hand 850
 A bough of fairest fruit, that downy smil'd,
 New gather'd, and ambrosial smell diffus'd.
 To him she hasted; in her face excuse
 Came prologue, and apology too prompt, 854
 Which with bland words at will she thus address'd.
 Hast

845. — *divine of something ill,*
 Foreboding something ill; a Latin
 phrase, as in Hor. Od. III. XXVII.
 10.

Imbrium divina avis imminetum:
 and again De Arte Poet. 218.

*Utiliumque sagax rerum, et divina
 futuri*

Sortilegis non discrepuit sententia
 Delphis.

846. — *be the faltring measure felt;*
 He found his heart kept not true
 time, he felt the false and intermit-
 ting measure; the natural description
 of our minds foreboding ill, by the
 unequal beatings of the heart and
 pulse. Hume.

Hast thou not wonder'd, Adam, at my stay?
 Thee I have miss'd, and thought it long, depriv'd
 Thy presence, agony of love till now
 Not felt, nor shall be twice, for never more
 Mean I to try, what rash untry'd I sought, 860
 The pain of absence from thy sight. But strange
 Hath been the cause, and wonderful to hear:
 This tree is not as we are told, a tree
 Of danger tasted, nor to' evil unknown
 Opening the way, but of divine effect 865
 To open eyes, and make them Gods who taste;
 And hath been tasted such: the serpent wise,
 Or not restrain'd as we, or not obeying,
 Hath eaten of the fruit, and is become,
 Not dead, as we are threaten'd, but thenceforth 870
 Indued with human voice and human sense,
 Reasoning to admiration, and with me

Per-

851. *A bough of fairest fruit, that
 downy smil'd,
 New gather'd, and ambrosial smell
 diffus'd.] That downy smil'd,
 that cover'd with soft down look'd
 sweetly.*

*Ipse ego cana legam tenera lanu-
 gine mala. Virg. Ecl. II. 51.
 and ambrosial smell diffus'd, Virgil's
 very words,*

Et liquidum ambrosiæ diffudit odo-
 rem. Georg. IV. 415. Hume.

854. — *apology too prompt,]* We
 have here followed Dr. Bentley's
 and Mr. Fenton's editions as repre-
 senting we conceive the true and
 genuin reading. In the former edi-
 tions it was *apology to prompt*. which
 we presume to have been an error
 of the press.

N 2

875. — *opener*

Persuasively hath so prevail'd, that I
 Have also tasted; and have also found
 Th' effects to correspond, opener mine eyes, 875
 Dim erst, dilated spirits, ampler heart,
 And growing up to Godhead; which for thee
 Chiefly I fought, without thee can despise.
 For bliss, as thou hast part, to me is bliss,
 Tedious, unshar'd with thee, and odious soon. 880
 Thou therefore also taste, that equal lot
 May join us, equal joy, as equal love;
 Lest thou not tasting, different degree
 Disjoin us, and I then too late renounce
 Deity for thee, when fate will not permit. 885
 Thus Eve with count'nance blithe her story told;
 But in her cheek distemper flushing glow'd.

On

875. — *opener mine eyes,
 Dim erst, dilated spirits, ampler
 heart,
 And growing up to Godhead;*] Mil-
 ton in the manner of expression here
 seems pretty plainly to allude to what
 Thirsis in Tasso's *Aminta* says of
 himself upon his seeing Phœbus and
 the Muses. Act. I. Sc. 2.

*Sentii mè far di mè stesso maggiore,
 Pien di noua virtù, pieno di noua
 Deitate. Thyer.*

890. *Astonied stood and blank, while
 horror chill*

*Ran through his veins, and all his
 joints relax'd;]*

*Obstupere animi, gelidusque per
 ima cucurrit*

Ossa tremor. Virg. Æn. II. 120.

Illi solvantur frigore membra.

Æn. XII. 951. Hume.

892. *From his slack band the gar-
 land wreath'd for Eve*

Down dropt,] The beauty of the
 numbers, as well as of the image
 here, must strike every reader. There
 is the same kind of beauty in the
 placing of the words *Down dropt*.

On th' other side, Adam, soon as he heard
 The fatal trespass done by Eve, amaz'd,
 Astonied stood and blank, while horror chill 890
 Ran through his veins, and all his joints relax'd;
 From his slack hand the garland wreath'd for Eve
 Down dropt, and all the faded roses shed:
 Speechless he stood and pale, till thus at length
 First to himself he inward silence broke. 895

O fairest of creation, last and best
 Of all God's works, Creature in whom excell'd
 Whatever can to sight or thought be form'd,
 Holy, divine, good, amiable, or sweet!
 How art thou lost, how on a sudden lost, 900
 Defac'd, deflowr'd, and now to death devote?
 Rather how hast thou yielded to transgress

The

as in this passage of Virgil, *Æn.* and in Virgil, *Æn.* VI. 834.
 II. 531.

Ut tandem ante oculos evasit et ora
 parentum,

Concidit.

901. *Defac'd, deflowr'd, and now
 to death devote?*] We have
 before taken some notice of what
 the critics call the *alliteration*, or
 beginning of several words in the
 same verse with the same letter.
 There are instances of this in the
 oldest and best writers, as in Homer,
Iliad. IV. 526.

Χυλὸ χαμαὶ χολαδῆς —

*Neu patriæ validas in viscera ver-
 tite vires.*

Sometimes two or more letters are
 repeated at the beginning of different
 words, as Hom. *Iliad.* XXI. 407.

Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπεχέτε πειθεσέμεναι —
 and Virg. *Æn.* IV. 238.

Dixerat: ille patris magni parere
 parabat
 Imperio.

Erythræus and some critics lay great
 N 3 stress

The strict forbiddance, how to violate
 The sacred fruit forbidd'n? some cursed fraud
 Of enemy hath beguil'd thee, yet unknown, 905
 And me with thee hath ruin'd, for with thee
 Certain my resolution is to die;
 How can I live without thee, how forgo
 Thy sweet converse and love so dearly join'd,
 To live again in these wild woods forlorn? 910
 Should God create another Eve, and I
 Another rib afford, yet loss of thee

Would

strefs upon this, esteeming it a singular beauty in writing, though it is probable that the Ancients fell into it by chance as often as by design: but the Moderns have carried it to a ridiculous degree of affectation, and Dryden particularly thought it one of the greatest arts of versification. As there is scarce any beauty in writing, or art in numbers, that is not to be found in Milton, so he has something of this, but is more sparing in the use of it than several of the modern poets. We produc'd before an instance of the single alliteration, VII. 471.

Behemoth biggest born —

and here two or more letters are repeated, VI. 840.

O'er shields and *helms* and *helmed*
heads he rode,

as well as in the instance before us

Defac'd, deflowr'd, and now to
death devote.

And certainly now and then an instance may have a very good effect; but the continued affectation of it is below a great genius, and must be offensive to the ear instead of pleasing.

908. *How can I live without thee,*
how forgo

Thy sweet converse and love so dearly
join'd,] Dr. Bentley reads
so dearly joy'd, the same as enjoy'd, as
 in ver. 1166.

Who might have liv'd, and *joy'd*
 immortal bliss.

But there is no occasion for this alteration; the passage may very well be understood without it. Mr. Richardson understands it thus, Conversation more sweeten'd and endeared by love; if he lost her, he could only converse with Angels, where he should want the dear addition

Would never from my heart ; no no, I feel
 The link of nature draw me : flesh of flesh,
 Bone of my bone thou art, and from thy state 915
 Mine never shall be parted, bliss or woe.

So having said, as one from sad dismay
 Recomforted, and after thoughts disturb'd
 Submitting to what seem'd remediless,
 Thus in calm mood his words to Eve he turn'd. 920

Bold deed thou hast presum'd, adventurous Eve,
 And peril great provok'd, who thus hast dar'd,
 Had

dition of love. But the sense is much better as Dr. Pearce understands it, that is, the *sweet converse and love* of thee so dearly join'd to me. This is a common way of speaking in Milton, and the reader may see more instances of it in IV. 129. and VIII. 423. The sense of this last verse is again found in ver. 970.

Milton, and yet I can't help thinking but that he might probably have in view Plato's notion of the first human creatures being androgynous, i. e. male and female in the same person, and that the affection now subsisting betwixt the different sexes is only a secret tendency or *drawing* of nature towards her first state.

Thyer.

— link'd in love so dear.

910. *To live again in these wild woods forlorn?*] How vastly expressive are these words of Adam's tenderness and affection for Eve, as they imply that the mere imagination of losing her had already converted the sweets of Paradise into the horrors of a desolate wilderness!

Thyer.

913. — no no, I feel
The link of nature draw me:] The Scripture account of Eve's formation might possibly suggest this thought to

920. *Thus in calm mood his words to Eve he turn'd.]* He had till now been speaking to himself; now his speech turns to her, but not with violence, not with noise and rage, 'tis a deep considerate melancholy. The line cannot be pronounced but as it ought, slowly, gravely. *Richardson.*

922. — *who thus hast dar'd,]* So it is in the first edition, but in the second by mistake it is printed *bath dar'd*, and that is follow'd in some others.

N 4

928. *Per-*

Had it been only coveting to eye
 That sacred fruit, sacred to abstinence,
 Much more to taste it under ban to touch. 925
 But past who can recall, or done undo?
 Not God omnipotent, nor Fate; yet so
 Perhaps thou shalt not die, perhaps the fact
 Is not so hainous now, foretasted fruit,
 Profan'd first by the serpent, by him first 930
 Made common and unhallow'd ere our taste;
 Nor yet on him found deadly, he yet lives,
 Lives, as thou saidst, and gains to live as Man
 Higher degree of life, inducement strong
 To us, as likely tasting to attain 935
 Proportional ascent, which cannot be
 But to be Gods, or Angels Demi-Gods,
 Nor can I think that God, Creator wise,
 Though threatening, will in earnest so destroy
 Us his prime creatures, dignify'd so high, 940
 Set over all his works, which in our fall,

For

928. *Perhaps thou shalt not die, &c.*] action of Eve in eating the forbid-
 How just a picture does Milton here den fruit, and yet drawn by his fond-
 give us of the natural imbecillity of ness for her immediately summons
 the human mind, and its aptness to all the force of his reason to prove
 be warp'd into false judgments and what she had done to be right. This
 reasonings by passion and inclination? may probably appear a fault to su-
 Adam had but just condemn'd the perflcial readers, but all intelligent
 ones

For us created, needs with us must fail,
 Dependent made; so God shall uncreate,
 Be frustrate, do, undo, and labor lose,
 Not well conceiv'd of God, who though his power
 Creation could repeat, yet would be loath 946
 Us to abolish, lest the Adversary
 Triumph and say; Fickle their state whom God
 Most favors; who can please him long? Me first
 He ruin'd, now Mankind; whom will he next? 950
 Matter of scorn, not to be giv'n the Foe.
 However I with thee have fix'd my lot,
 Certain to undergo like doom; if death
 Confort with thee, death is to me as life;
 So forcible within my heart I feel 955
 The bond of nature draw me to my own,
 My own in thee, for what thou art is mine;
 Our state cannot be sever'd, we are one,
 One flesh; to lose thee were to lose myself.
 So Adam, and thus Eve to him reply'd. 960

O

ones will, I dare say, look upon it as a proof of our author's exquisite knowledge of human nature. Reason is but too often little better than a slave ready at the beck of the will to dress up in plausible colors any opinions that our interest or re-

sentment have made agreeable to us. *Thyer.*

929. — *hainous*] So Milton spells this word, which is right and agreeable to its derivation from the French *haineux*. It is wrong to write it, as it is commonly written, *heinous*. We take

O glorious trial of exceeding love,
 Illustrious evidence, example high!
 Engaging me to emulate, but short
 Of thy perfection, how shall I attain,
 Adam? from whose dear side I boast me sprung, 965
 And gladly of our union hear thee speak,
 One heart, one soul in both; whereof good proof
 This day affords, declaring thee resolv'd,
 Rather than death or ought than death more dread
 Shall separate us, link'd in love so dear, 970
 To undergo with me one guilt, one crime,
 If any be, of tasting this fair fruit,
 Whose virtue (for of good still good proceeds,
 Direct, or by occasion) hath presented
 This happy trial of thy love, which else 975
 So eminently never had been known.
 Were it I thought death menac'd would ensue
 This my attempt, I would sustain alone

The

take notice of these things, as instances of our author's exactness.

978. — *I would sustain alone &c.* We have follow'd the punctuation of the first edition, as the sense requires, which is plainly this, If I thought the death that was threaten'd would be the consequence of this

my attempt, I would suffer the worst alone, and not endeavor to persuade thee, I would rather die by myself forsaken of thee, than oblige thee with a fact &c. *Oblige* is used here in the large sense of the Latin word *obligo*, which signifies not only to bind, but to render obnoxious to guilt or punishment. We have in Cicero,

The worst, and not persuade thee, rather die
 Deserted, than oblige thee with a fact 980
 Pernicious to thy peace, chiefly assur'd
 Remarkably so late of thy so true,
 So faithful love unequal'd; but I feel
 Far otherwise th' event, not death, but life
 Augmented, open'd eyes, new hopes, new joys, 985
 Taste so divine, that what of sweet before
 Hath touch'd my sense, flat seems to this, and harsh.
 On my experience, Adam, freely taste,
 And fear of death deliver to the winds.

So saying, she embrac'd him, and for joy 990
 Tenderly wept, much won that he his love
 Had so ennobled, as of choice to' incur
 Divine displeasure for her sake, or death.
 In recompense (for such compliance bad
 Such recompense best merits) from the bough 995
 She gave him of that fair enticing fruit

With

Cicero, Cum populum Romanum
 scelere obligasset. Orat. pro Domo
 sua 8. Sæpe etiam legum judi-
 ciorumque pœnis obligantur. Fin.
 I. 14. and in Horace Od. II.
 VIII. 5.

— Sed tu simul obligasti
 Perfidum votis caput.

989. *And fear of death deliver to
 the winds.] To deliver to the
 winds is a sort of proverbial expres-
 sion, Hor. Od. I. XXVI. 1.*

— Tristitiam et metus
 Tradam protervis in mare Creticum
 Portare ventis.

998. — not

With liberal hand: he scrupled not to eat
 Against his better knowledge, not deceiv'd,
 But fondly overcome with female charm.
 Earth trembled from her entrails, as again 1000
 In pangs, and Nature gave a second groan,
 Sky lour'd, and muttering thunder, some sad drops
 Wept at completing of the mortal sin
 Original; while Adam took no thought,
 Eating his fill, nor Eve to iterate 1005
 Her former trespass fear'd, the more to sooth
 Him with her lov'd society, that now
 As with new wine intoxicated both

They

998. — not deceiv'd,
*But fondly overcome with female
 charm.]* According to the his-
 torical relation of Moses, he did not
 plead for himself, that he was de-
 ceiv'd (the excuse of Eve cheated
 by the Serpent) but rather entic'd
 and persuaded by her: *The woman
 whom thou gavest to be with me, she
 gave me of the tree, and I did eat.*
 Gen. III. 12. Whence St. Paul,
*Adam was not deceived, but the wo-
 man being deceived was in the trans-
 gression,* 1 Tim. II. 14. *Overcome
 with female charm,* which the holy
 page styles, *Hearkening unto the voice
 of his wife,* Gen. III. 17.

*Improbe amor, quid non mortalia
 pectora cogis?*

Virg. Æn. IV. 412. Hume.

1000. *Earth trembled from her en-
 trails,]* When Dido in the
 fourth Æneid yielded to that fatal
 temptation which ruin'd her, Virgil
 tells us the Earth trembled, the Hea-
 vens were filled with flashes of light-
 ning, and the Nymphs howled upon
 the mountain tops. Milton, in the
 same poetical spirit, has described all
 Nature as disturb'd upon Eve's eat-
 ing the forbidden fruit, ver. 780.

So saying, her rash hand in evil hour
 Forth reaching to the fruit, she
 pluck'd, she eat:

Earth felt the wound, and Nature
 from her seat

Sighing, through all her works gave
 signs of woe,

That all was lost.

Upon Adam's falling into the same
 guilt

They swim in mirth, and fancy that they feel
Divinity within them breeding wings 1010

Wherewith to scorn the earth: but that false fruit
Far other operation first display'd,

Carnal desire inflaming; he on Eve

Began to cast lascivious eyes, she him

As wantonly repaid; in lust they burn: 1015

Till Adam thus 'gan Eve to dalliance move.

Eve, now I see thou art exact of taste,

And elegant, of sapience no small part,

Since to each meaning favor we apply,

And palate call judicious; I the praise 1020

Yield

guilt, the whole creation appears a second time in convulsions. As all Nature suffer'd by the guilt of our first parents, these symptoms of trouble and consternation are wonderfully imagin'd, not only as prodigies, but as marks of her sympathizing in the fall of Man. *Addison.*

1002. *Sky lour'd, and muttering thunder,]* It is not meant that thunder also lour'd, but *Sky lour'd, and muttering thunder* in the ablative case absolute, *some sad drops wept at completing of the mortal sin.* It was not loud claps of thunder, but muttering thunder, melancholy and mournful. The passage alluded to in Virgil is this. *Æn. IV. 166.*

— *Prima et Tellus et pronuba Juno
Dant signum: fulsere ignes et con-*
scius æther

*Connubiis: summoque ulularunt
vertice Nymphæ.*

*Ille dies primus lethi, primusque
malorum*

Causa fuit.

Then first the trembling Earth the
signal gave;

And flashing fires inlighten all the
cave:

Hell from below, and Juno from
above,

And howling Nymphs, were con-
scious to their love.

From this ill-omen'd hour, in time
arose

Debate and death, and all succeed-
ing woes. *Dryden.*

1019. *Since to each meaning favor
we apply,]* Since we use
the word *savor* in both senses, and
apply

Yield thee, so well this day thou hast purvey'd.
 Much pleasure we have lost, while we abstain'd
 From this delightful fruit, nor known till now
 True relish, tasting; if such pleasure be
 In things to us forbidd'n, it might be wish'd, 1025
 For this one tree had been forbidden ten.
 But come, so well refresh'd, now let us play,
 As meet is, after such delicious fare;
 For never did thy beauty since the day
 I saw thee first and wedded thee, adorn'd 1030
 With all perfections, so inflame my sense

With

apply it to the understanding as well as to the palate: as in Cicero de Fin. II. 8. *Nec enim sequitur, ut cui cor sapiat, ei non sapiat palatum.*

1027. — *now let us play, As meet is, after such delicious fare;* He seems to allude to Exod. XXXII. 6. 1 Cor. X. 7. *And the people sat down to eat, and to drink, and rose up to play;* understanding the word *play* with several commentators, not of dancing after the sacrifices as it ought probably to be understood in these texts, but of committing uncleanness, as when we say to *play the whore*, and as the word is often used in the learned languages.

1029. *For never did thy beauty &c.]* Adam's converse with Eve, after having eaten the forbidden fruit, is an exact copy of that between Ju-

piter and Juno in the fourteenth Iliad. Juno there approaches Jupiter with the girdle which she had received from Venus; upon which he tells her, that she appear'd more charming and desirable than she had ever done before, even when their loves were at the highest. The poet afterwards describes them as reposing on a summit of mount Ida, which produced under them a bed of flowers, the lotos, the crocus and the hyacinth; and concludes his description with their falling asleep. Let the reader compare this with the following passage in Milton, which begins with Adam's speech to Eve. As no poet seems ever to have studied Homer more, or to have more resembled him in the greatness of genius than Milton, I think I should have given a very imperfect account of his beauties, if I had not observed the

With ardor to enjoy thee, fairer now
Than ever, bounty of this virtuous tree.

So said he, and forbore not glance or toy
Of amorous intent, well understood 1035
Of Eve, whose eye darted contagious fire.
Her hand he seisd, and to a shady bank,
Thick overhead with verdant roof imbowl'd,
He led her nothing loath; flow'rs were the couch,
Pansies, and violets, and asphodel, 1040
And hyacinth, earth's freshest softest lap.
There they their fill of love and love's disport

Took

the most remarkable passages which look like parallels in these two great authors. I might, in the course of these criticisms, have taken notice of many particular lines and expressions which are translated from the Greek poet; but as I thought this would have appeared too minute and over-curious, I have purposely omitted them. The greater incidents, however, are not only set off by being shown in the same light with several of the same nature in Homer, but by that means may be also guarded against the cavils of the tasteless or ignorant. Addison.

Our author had in mind the conversation between Paris and Helen in the third Iliad, as well as that between Jupiter and Juno on mount Ida. And as Mr. Pope observes, it is with wonderful judgment and decency that Milton has used that ex-

ceptionable passage of the dalliance, ardor, and enjoyment of Jupiter and Juno. That which seems in Homer an impious fiction, becomes a moral lesson in Milton; since he makes that lascivious rage of the passion the immediate effect of the sin of our first parents after the fall.

1034. *So said he, and forbore not glance or toy &c.*] What a fine contrast does this description of the amorous follies of our first parents after the fall make to that lovely picture of the same passion in its state of innocence in the preceding book ver. 510.

— To the nuptial bower
I led her blushing like the morn:
all Heaven,
And happy constellations &c!
Thyer.

1049.—and

Took largely, of their mutual guilt the seal,
 The solace of their sin, till dewy sleep
 Oppress'd them, wearied with their amorous play.
 Soon as the force of that fallacious fruit, 1046
 That with exhilarating vapor bland
 About their spi'rits had play'd, and inmost powers
 Made err, was now exhal'd; and grosser sleep
 Bred of unkindly fumes, with conscious dreams 1050
 Incumber'd, now had left them; up they rose
 As from unrest, and each the other viewing,
 Soon found their eyes how open'd, and their minds
 How darken'd; innocence, that as a veil 1054
 Had shadow'd them from knowing ill, was gone,
 Just

1049. — *and grosser sleep*
Bred of unkindly fumes,] How un-
 like the sleep mention'd V. 3.

——— for his sleep
 Was aery light from pure digestion
 bred,
 And temp'rate vapors bland.

The sleep of sin is nothing like the sleep of innocence.

1057. — *naked left*
To guilty shame; &c.] This passage
 has occasion'd much perplexity and
 confusion by its having been wrong
 pointed in almost all the editions.
 After *shame* there is no stop even in
 Milton's own editions, and there
 should have been a semicolon at least.

And then follows *he cover'd*, for
shame (as Dr. Pearce observes) is here
 made a person (as again in ver.
 1097.), and this *shame* is *he* who
cover'd Adam and Eve with his robe;
 but this *robe* of his *uncover'd* them
more: that is, tho' they were clothed
 with shame, yet they thereby more
 discover'd their nakedness. Milton
 speaks in the same manner in Sam-
 son Agon. 841, 842.

In vain thou striv'st to cover shame
 with shame,
 For by evasions thy crime unco-
 ver'st more.

In the author's second edition after
 the words *Uncover'd more* there is
 a full stop, and a new sentence be-
 ginning

Just confidence, and native righteousness,
 And honor from about them, naked left
 To guilty shame; he cover'd, but his robe
 Uncover'd more. So rose the Danite strong
 Herculean Samson from the harlot-lap 1060
 Of Philistean Dalilah, and wak'd
 Shorn of his strength, They destitute and bare
 Of all their virtue: silent, and in face
 Confounded long they sat, as stricken mute,
 Till Adam, though not less than Eve abash'd, 1065
 At length gave utterance to these words constrain'd.

O Eve, in evil hour thou didst give ear
 To that false worm, of whomsoever taught

To

ginning thus, *So rose the Danite strong* &c with the punctuation which we have follow'd; from whence it evidently appears, that this is the true construction, that As Samson wak'd shorn of his strength, They wak'd destitute and bare of all their virtue: and then begins another sentence, *silent and in face confounded long they sat*. I suppose it need not be observed that Samson is called the *Danite*, as being of the tribe of *Dan*.

1067. *O Eve, in evil hour* &c.] As this whole transaction between Adam and Eve is manifestly copied from the episode of Jupiter and Juno on mount Ida, has many of the same circumstances, and often the very

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words translated, so it concludes exactly after the same manner in a quarrel. Adam awakes much in the same humor as Jupiter, and their cases are somewhat parallel; they are both overcome by their fondness to their wives, and are sensible of their error too late, and then their love turns to resentment, and they grow angry with their wives, when they should rather have been angry with themselves for their weakness in hearkening to them.

1068. *To that false worm,*] That is serpent. This is a general name for the reptil kind; as in VII. 476. And thus a serpent is call'd in Shakespeare *the mortal worm*, 2 Hen. VI. Act III.

O

1084. O

To counterfeit Man's voice, true in our fall,
 False in our promis'd rising; since our eyes 1070
 Open'd we find indeed, and find we know
 Both good and ev'il, good lost, and evil got,
 Bad fruit of knowledge, if this be to know,
 Which leaves us naked thus, of honour void,
 Of innocence, of faith, of purity, 1075
 Our wonted ornaments now foil'd and stain'd,
 And in our faces evident the signs
 Of foul concupiscence; whence evil store;
 Ev'n shame, the last of evils; of the first
 Be sure then. How shall I behold the face 1080
 Henceforth of God or Angel, erst with joy
 And rapture so oft beheld? those heav'nly shapes
 Will dazle now this earthly with their blaze
 Insufferably bright. O might I here

In

1084. *O might I here &c Cover me
 ye Pines, &c,]* A wish more
 ardent and passionate than that of
 Virgil. Georg. II. 488.

O, qui me gelidis in vallibus Hæmi
 Sistat, et ingenti ramorum protegat
 umbra!

And the expression of *woods impene-
 trable to star* seems to be copied
 from Statius Thebaid. X. 85.

— nulli penetrabilis astro
 Lucus iners. —

1086. — *where highest woods im-
 penetrable*

*To star or sun-light, spread their
 umbrage broad*

And brown as evening:] Spenser,
 Fairy Queen, B. 1. Cant. 1. St. 7.

Whose lofty trees, yclad with sum-
 mer's pride,

Did spread so wide, they Heaven's
 light did hide

Not pearceable with pow'r of any
 star.

It

In solitude live savage, in some glade 1085
 Obscur'd, where highest woods impenetrable
 To star or sun-light, spread their umbrage broad
 And brown as evening: Cover me ye Pines,
 Ye Cedars, with innumerable boughs
 Hide me, where I may never see them more. 1090
 But let us now, as in bad plight, devise
 What best may for the present serve to hide
 The parts of each from other, that seem most
 To shame obnoxious, and unseemliest seen;
 Some tree, whose broad smooth leaves together sow'd,
 And girded on our loins, may cover round 1096
 Those middle parts, that this new comer, shame,
 There fit not, and reproach us as unclean.

So counsel'd he, and both together went
 Into the thickest wood; there soon they chose 1100
 The

It may be observed too, that Milton here uses the word *brown*, as he had before done *imbrown'd* in imitation of the Italians. *Thyer.*

1092. *What best may for the present serve to hide*

The parts of each from other.]

These lines are thus misprinted in the second edition,

What best may from the present serve to hide

The parts of each for other.

And as to the matter of printing, it must be said that of Milton's two editions the first is in general more correct than the second, tho' Mr. Richardson and others have cried up the second as the only genuine and standard edition.

1100. *Into the thickest wood; there soon they chose*

The fig tree, &c.] So Homer's Ulysses covers his nakedness in the wood, *Odyss. VI. 127.*

O 2

25

The fig-tree, not that kind for fruit renown'd,
 But such as at this day to Indians known
 In Malabar or Decan spreads her arms
 Branching so broad and long, that in the ground
 The bended twigs take root, and daughters grow
 About the mother tree, a pillar'd shade 1106
 High overarch'd, and echoing walks between;
 There oft the Indian herdsman shunning heat
 Shelters in cool, and tends his pasturing herds
 At loopholes cut through thickest shade: Those leaves
 They gather'd, broad as Amazonian targe, 1111
 And with what skill they had, together sow'd,
 To gird their waste, vain covering if to hide
 Their

Ὡς εἰπὼν θάμνων ὑπεδυσσετο δῖος
 Ὀδυσσεύς.

Ἐκ πυκνῆς δ' ὕλης πλοῦρον κλάσε
 χεὶρὶ παχείῃ
 φυλλῶν, ὡς ρυσσάτο περὶ χροῖ
 μηδεὰ φάτῳ.

Then where the grove with leaves
 umbrageous bends,

With forceful strength a branch the
 hero rends;

Around his loins the verdant cincture
 spreads

A wreathy foliage and concealing
 shades. Broome.

The sacred text says, Gen. III. 7.
 that *they sowed fig-leaves together*;
 and Milton adheres to the Scripture
 expression, which has given occasion

to the sneer, *What could they do for
 needles and thread?* But the original
 signifies no more than that they
 twisted the young twigs of the fig-
 tree round about their waists, in the
 manner of a Roman crown, for
 which purpose the fig-tree of all
 others, especially in those eastern
 countries, was the most serviceable;
 because it hath, as Pliny says Lib.
 16. cap. 26. folium maximum um-
 brosissimumque, the greatest and most
 shady leaf of all others. And our
 author follows the best commentators
 in supposing that this was the Indian
 fig-tree, the account of which he
 borrows from Pliny, Lib. 12. c. 5. as
 Pliny had done before from Theo-
 phrastus. It was *not that kind for
 fruit*

Their guilt and dreaded shame; O how unlike
 To that first naked glory! Such of late 1115
 Columbus found th' American, so girt
 With feather'd cincture, naked else and wild
 Among the trees on iles and woody shores.
 Thus fenc'd, and as they thought, their shame in part
 Cover'd, but not at rest or ease of mind, 1120
 They sat them down to weep; nor only tears
 Rain'd at their eyes, but high winds worse within
 Began to rise, high passions, anger, hate,
 Mistrust, suspicion, discord, and shook sore
 Their inward state of mind, calm region once 1125
 And full of peace, now tost and turbulent:

For

fruit renown'd, and Pliny says that the largeness of the leaves hinder'd the fruit from growing; hæc causâ fructum integens, crescere prohibet; rarusque est. It branches so broad and long that in the ground the bended twigs take root, and daughters grow about the mother tree, a pillar'd shade high overarch'd: As Pliny says, Ipsa se semper ferens, vastis diffunditur ramis; quorum imi adeo in terram curvantur, ut annuo spatio infigantur, novamque sibi propaginem faciant circa parentem — quodam opere topiario — fornicato ambitu. There oft the Indian herdsman shunning heat shelters in cool &c: Intra sepem eam æstivant pastores &c. And its leaves are broad as Amazonian

targe: Foliorum latitudo peltæ effigiem Amazonicæ habet. Sir Walter Raleigh, upon his own knowledge, gives very much the same account of this Ficus Indica in his History of the World. B. 1. C. 4. S. 2.

1103. *In Malabar or Decan] Malabar is a vast peninsula or promontary of the East Indies, of which Decan is a considerable kingdom.*

Hume.

1115. — *Such of late Columbus found the American, &c.] Columbus, who made the first discovery of America about the Year 1492, found the Americans so girt about the waste with feathers, as Adam and Eve were with fig-leaves.*

For understanding rul'd not, and the will
 Heard not her lore, both in subjection now
 To sensual appetite, who from beneath
 Usurping over sovran reason clam'd 1136
 Superior sway: from thus distemper'd breast,
 Adam, estrang'd in look and alter'd stile,
 Speech intermitted thus to Eve renew'd,

Would thou hadst hearken'd to my words, and stay'd
 With me, as I besought thee, when that strange 1135
 Desire of wand'ring this unhappy morn,
 I know not whence possess'd thee; we had then
 Remain'd still happy, not as now, despoil'd
 Of all our good, sham'd, naked, miserable.
 Let none henceforth seek needless cause to' approve
 The faith they owe; when earnestly they seek 1141
 Such proof, conclude, they then begin to fail.

To whom soon mov'd with touch of blame thus
 Eve.

What words have pass'd thy lips, Adam severe!

Imput'ft

1140. *Let none henceforth seek need-
 less cause to' approve
 The faith they owe;*] As Eve had
 done when she said ver. 335.

And what is faith, love, virtue,
 unassay'd, &c.

1144. *What words have pass'd thy
 lips, Adam severe!*] Inimi-
 tation of Homer, Iliad. XIV. 83.

Αἴτιον, ποιοῦν σε ἐπεὶ φέρει
 ἔρκος ὁδὸν; Thyer.

1162. To

Imput'st thou that to my default, or will 1145
 Of wand'ring, as thou call'st it, which who knows
 But might as ill have happen'd thou being by,
 Or to thyself perhaps? hadst thou been there,
 Or here th' attempt, thou couldst not have discern'd
 Fraud in the Serpent, speaking as he spake; 1150
 No ground of enmity between us known,
 Why he should mean me ill, or seek to harm.
 Was I to' have never parted from thy side?
 As good have grown there still a lifeless rib.
 Being as I am, why didst not thou the head 1155
 Command me absolutely not to go,
 Going into such danger as thou saidst?
 Too facil then thou didst not much gainsay,
 Nay didst permit, approve, and fair dismiss.
 Hadst thou been firm and fix'd in thy dissent, 1160
 Neither had I transgress'd, nor thou with me.
 To whom then first incens'd Adam reply'd.
 Is this the love, is this the recompense

Of

1162. *To whom then first incens'd thy love, is this the recompense of mine
 Adam reply'd.] As Adam to thee, of my love to thee, which
 is now first angry, his speech is was express'd immutable when thou
 abrupt and his sentences broken. Is avert lost?
 this the love, Dr. Bentley reads Is this*

Of mine to thee, ingrateful Eve, express'd
 Immutable when thou wert lost, not I, 1165
 Who might have liv'd and joy'd immortal bliss,
 Yet willingly chose rather death with thee?
 And am I now upbraided as the cause
 Of thy transgressing? not enough severe,
 It seems, in thy restraint: what could I more? 1170
 I warn'd thee, I admonish'd thee, foretold
 The danger, and the lurking enemy
 That lay in wait; beyond this had been force,
 And force upon free will hath here no place.
 But confidence then bore thee on, secure 1175
 Either to meet no danger, or to find
 Matter of glorious trial; and perhaps
 I also err'd in overmuch admiring
 What seem'd in thee so perfect, that I thought
 No evil durst attempt thee, but I rue 1180
 That error now, which is become my crime,
 And thou th' accuser. Thus it shall befall
 Him who to worth in women overtrusting

Lets

1170. — *in thy restraint:*] This is the reading in all the first editions; but several of the later ones have *my restraint*.

1183. — *in women overtrusting*] Dr. Bentley reads *woman*, and I should rather prefer it on account of what follows, *her will, she will not brook*,

Lets her will rule ; restraint she will not brook,
 And left to' herself, if evil thence ensue, 1185
 She first his weak indulgence will accuse.

Thus they in mutual accusation spent
 The fruitless hours, but neither self-condemning,
 And of their vain contest appear'd no end.

brook, left to herself &c ; tho' women
 may be justify'd, such a transition
 from the plural to the singular num-
 ber being not uncommon in the best
 authors, as in Terence, Eun. II.
 I. 19.

Dii boni, quid hoc morbi est? adeon'
homines immutarier

Ex amore, ut non cognoscas eun-
dem esse?

1185. — *if evil thence ensue, &c]*
Juvenal Sat. VI. 283.

———— *Nihil est audacius illis*
Deprensus ; iram atque animos a
crimine sumunt. Hume.

The end of the Ninth Book.

THE HISTORY OF THE VIKINGS

The history of the Vikings is a story of exploration, conquest, and discovery. From the icy fjords of Norway to the sun-drenched shores of the Mediterranean, the Vikings left their mark on the world. Their longships, built for speed and maneuverability, carried them across vast distances, spreading their culture and influence. The Vikings were not just warriors; they were traders, explorers, and settlers. Their legacy lives on in the names of places and the stories we tell.

The Vikings were a people of many talents. They were skilled craftsmen, creating intricate carvings and designs on their ships and tools. They were also great navigators, using the stars and the sun to find their way across the ocean. The Vikings were a people of many faces. Some were fierce warriors, while others were peaceful traders. The Vikings were a people of many stories, and their history is a story that continues to fascinate us today.

The Vikings were a people of many achievements. They were the first to settle in North America, and they were the first to reach the British Isles. The Vikings were a people of many adventures, and their history is a story of many triumphs and setbacks. The Vikings were a people of many legends, and their history is a story that has inspired generations.

The Vikings were a people of many mysteries. Where did they come from? How did they survive in such harsh conditions? The Vikings were a people of many questions, and their history is a story that has inspired generations.

The Vikings were a people of many dreams. They dreamed of a better life, of a place where they could build a new world. The Vikings were a people of many hopes, and their history is a story of many dreams and aspirations.

THE
TENTH BOOK
OF
PARADISE LOST.

THE ARGUMENT.

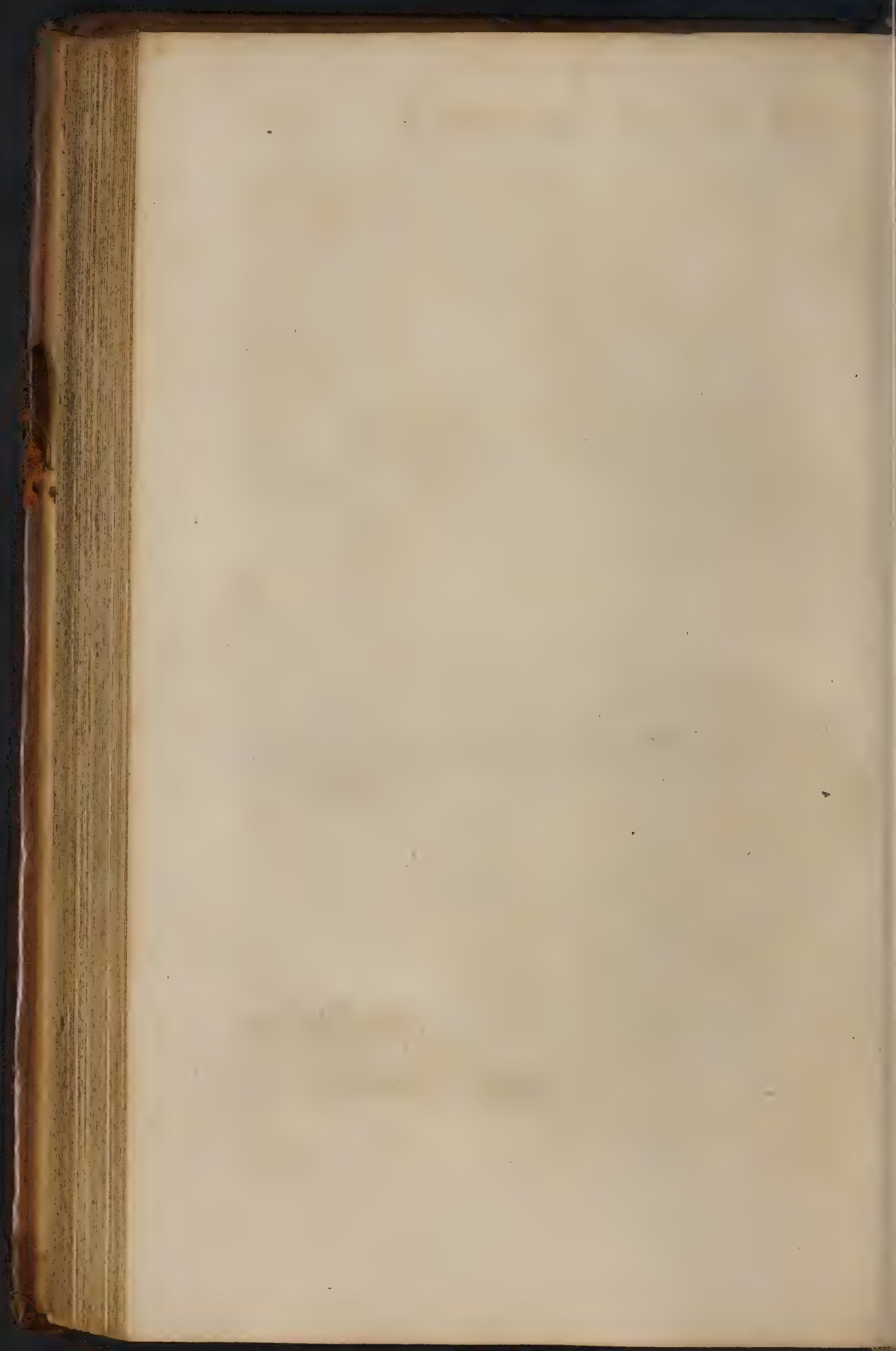
Man's transgression known, the guardian Angels forsake Paradise, and return up to Heaven to approve their vigilance, and are approv'd, God declaring that the entrance of Satan could not be by them prevented. He sends his Son to judge the transgressors, who descends and gives sentence accordingly; then in pity clothes them both, and reascends. Sin and Death sitting till then at the gates of Hell, by wondrous sympathy feeling the success of Satan in this new world, and the sin by Man there committed, resolve to sit no longer confin'd in Hell, but to follow Satan their sire up to the place of Man: To make the way easier from Hell to this world to and fro, they pave a broad high-way or bridge over Chaos, according to the track that Satan first made; then preparing for Earth, they meet him proud of his success returning to Hell; their mutual gratulation. Satan arrives at Pandemonium, in full assembly relates with boasting his success against Man; instead of applause is entertained with a general hiss by all his audience, transform'd with himself also suddenly into serpents, according to his doom given in Paradise; then deluded with a show of the forbidden tree springing up before them, they greedily reaching to take of the fruit, chew dust and bitter ashes. The proceedings of Sin and Death; God foretels the final victory of his Son over them, and the renewing of all things; but for the present commands his Angels to make several alterations in the Heavens and elements. Adam more and more perceiving his fall'n condition heavily bewails, rejects the condolment of Eve; she persists, and at length appeases him: then to evade the curse likely to fall on their offspring, proposes to Adam violent ways, which he approves not, but conceiving better hope, puts her in mind of the late promise made them, that her seed should be reveng'd on the Serpent, and exhorts her with him to seek peace of the offended Deity, by repentance and supplication.



J. Hayman inv. et del.

I. S. Müller sc.

Book 10.



PARADISE LOST.

B O O K X.

MEAN while the hainous and despiteful act
 Of Satan done in Paradise, and how
 He in the serpent, had perverted Eve,
 Her husband she, to taste the fatal fruit,
 Was known in Heav'n; for what can 'scape the eye 5
 Of God all-seeing, or deceive his heart
 Omniscient? who in all things wise and just,
 Hinder'd not Satan to attempt the mind
 Of Man, with strength entire, and free will arm'd,
 Complete to have discover'd and repuls'd 10
 Whatever wiles of foe or seeming friend.
 For still they knew, and ought to' have still remember'd
 The high injunction not to taste that fruit,
 Whoever tempted; which they not obeying,
 Incurr'd (what could they less?) the penalty, 15
 And

12. For still they knew,] Man collectively (ver. 9.) is antecedent to the plural relative *they*, as Gen. I. 26. God said, Let us make Man in our image, and let them have dominion &c. Heylin.

16. And

And manifold in sin, deserv'd to fall.
 Up into Heav'n from Paradise in haste
 Th' angelic guards ascended, mute and sad
 For Man, for of his state by this they knew,
 Much wond'ring how the subtle Fiend had stol'n 20
 Entrance unseen. Soon as th' unwelcome news
 From Earth arriv'd at Heaven gate, displeas'd
 All were who heard; dim sadness did not spare
 That time celestial visages, yet mix'd
 With pity, violated not their blifs. 25
 About the new-arriv'd, in multitudes
 Th' ethereal people ran, to hear and know
 How all befel: they tow'ards the throne supreme
 Ac-

16. *And manifold in sin, deserv'd to fall.*] Every sin is complicated in some degree: and the Divines, especially those of Milton's communion, reckon up several sins as included in this one act of eating the forbidden fruit, namely, pride, uxoriousness, wicked curiosity, infidelity, disobedience &c, so that for such complicated guilt he *deserv'd to fall* from his happy state in Paradise.

17. *Up into Heav'n &c.*] The tenth book of Paradise Lost has a greater variety of persons in it than any other in the whole poem. The author upon the winding up of his action introduces all those who had any concern in it, and shows with great beauty the influence which it had upon each of them. It is like the last act of a well-written tragedy, in which all who had a part in it are generally drawn up before the audience, and represented under those circumstances in which the determination of the action places them. I shall therefore consider this book under four heads, in relation to the celestial, the infernal, the human, and the imaginary persons, who have their respective parts allotted in it. To begin with the celestial persons. The guardian Angels of Paradise are described as returning to Heaven upon the fall of Man, in order to approve their vigilance; their arrival, their manner of reception, with the sorrow which appear'd in themselves, and

Accountable made haste to make appear
 With righteous plea their utmost vigilance, 30
 And easily approv'd; when the most high
 Eternal Father, from his secret cloud,
 Amidst in thunder utter'd thus his voice.

Assembled Angels, and ye Pow'rs return'd
 From unsuccessful charge, be not dismay'd, 35
 Nor troubled at these tidings from the earth,
 Which your sincerest care could not prevent,
 Foretold so lately what would come to pass,
 When first this tempter cross'd the gulf from Hell.
 I told ye then he should prevail and speed 40
 On his bad errand, Man should be seduc'd

And

and in those Spirits who are said to rejoice at the conversion of a sinner, are very finely laid together in the following lines. *Addison.*

23. — *dim sadness did not spare
 That time celestial visages, yet mix'd
 With pity, violated not their bliss.*
 What a just and noble idea does our author here give us of the blessedness of a benevolent temper, and how proper at the same time to obviate the objection that might be made of sadness dwelling in heavenly Spirits! *Thyer.*

Here *pity* is made to prevent their sadness from violating their bliss: but the latter passion is so far from alleviating the former, that it adds weight to it. If you read (*mix'd*

with pity) in a parenthesis, this cross reasoning will be avoided.

Warburton.

It is plain that Milton conceiv'd sadness *mix'd with pity* to be more consistent with heavenly bliss than sadness without that compassionate temper. There is something pleasing, something divine even in the melancholy of a merciful mind. And this (adds Mr. Thyer) might be farther confirm'd by the delight we take in tragical representations upon the stage, where the pleasure arises from sympathizing with the distresses of our fellow creatures, and indulging a pitiful commiserating temper.

40. *I told ye then &c.*] See book III. 86—96.

42. — *62-*

And flatter'd out of all, believing lies
 Against his Maker; no decree of mine
 Concurring to necessitate his fall,
 Or touch with lightest moment of impulse 45
 His free will, to her own inclining left
 In even scale. But fall'n he is, and now
 What rests, but that the mortal sentence pass
 On his transgression, death denounc'd that day?
 Which he presumes already vain and void, 50
 Because not yet inflicted, as he fear'd,
 By some immediate stroke; but soon shall find
 Forbearance no acquittance ere day end.
 Justice shall not return as bounty scorn'd.
 But whom send I to judge them? whom but thee 55
 Vicegerent Son? to thee I have transferr'd

All

42. ——— *believing lies*
Against his Maker;] Such as Satan
 had suggested, that all things did not
 proceed from God, that God kept
 the forbidden fruit from them out
 of envy &c.

45. — *with lightest moment of im-*
pulse] The same metaphor
 that he had used before in VI. 239.
 and we justify'd and explain'd it by
 Terence's *paulo momento impellitur*.

53. *Forbearance no acquittance]*
 These proverbial expressions are very
 improper any where in an epic poem,
 but much more when they are made

to proceed from the mouth of God
 himself.

56. — *to thee I have transferr'd*
All judgment] For the Father judg-
eth no man, but hath committed all
judgment unto the Son. John V. 22.

58. *Easy it may be seen]* We have
 printed it thus after the first edition.
 In the second edition and others it
 is *Easy it might be seen*, which is
 not so well.

59. *Mercy colleague with justice,]*
 According to that of the Psalmist,
Mercy and truth are met together,
righteousness

All judgment, whether in Heav'n, or Earth, or Hell.

Eafy it may be feen that I intend

Mercy colleague with juftice, fending thee

Man's friend, his mediator, his design'd 60

Both ranfome and redeemer voluntary,

And deftin'd Man himfelf to judge Man fall'n.

So fpake the Father, and unfolding bright

Tow'ard the right hand his glory, on the Son

Blaz'd forth unclouded deity; he full 65

Refplendent all his Father manifelt

Exprefs'd, and thus divinely anfwer'd mild.

Father eternal, thine is to decree,

Mine both in Heav'n and Earth to do thy will

Supreme, that thou in me thy Son belov'd 70

May'ft ever reft well pleas'd. I go to judge

On

righteousnefs and peace have kiffed each other. Pfal. LXXXV. 10.

62. *And deftin'd Man himfelf to judge Man fall'n.] And hath given him authority to execute judgment alfo, becaufe he is the fon of man,* John V. 27. Dr. Bentley reads *thyfelf*, but *himfelf* is full as well or better.

68. — *thine is to decree,*

Mine — to do thy will] Virg. *Æn.*

I. 76.

— Tuus ô Regina quid optes
Explorare labor; mihi juffa capef-
fere fas eft.

Vol. II.

71. — *I go to judge &c.]* The fame divine Perfon, who in the foregoing parts of this poem interceded for our firft parents before their fall, overthrew the rebel Angels, and created the world, is now represented as defcending to Paradife, and pronouncing fentence upon the three offenders. The cool of the evening being a circumftance with which holy Writ introduces this great fcene, it is poetically defcribed by our author, who has alfo kept religiously to the form of words, in which the three feveral fentences

P

were

On earth these thy transgressors, but thou know'st,
 Whoever judg'd, the worst on me must light,
 When time shall be, for so I undertook
 Before thee'; and not repenting, this obtain 75
 Of right, that I may mitigate their doom
 On me deriv'd, yet I shall temper so
 Justice with mercy', as may illustrate most
 Them fully satisfy'd, and thee appease. 79
 Attendance none shall need, nor train, where none
 Are to behold the judgment, but the judg'd,
 Those two; the third best absent is condemn'd,
 Convict by flight, and rebel to all law:
 Conviction to the serpent none belongs.
 Thus saying, from his radiant seat he rose 85
 Of

were passed upon Adam, Eve, and the Serpent. He has rather chosen to neglect the numerousness of his verse, than to deviate from those speeches which are recorded on this great occasion. The guilt and confusion of our first parents, standing naked before their judge, is touched with great beauty. Addison.

74. — for so I undertook] See Book III. 236. &c.

80. Attendance none shall need,] This is either an elliptical way of speaking for *I shall need no attendance*: or rather the word *need*, tho'

commonly used as a verb active, is here used as a verb neuter, and means *no attendance will be wanting*; and so it is used likewise in III. 340.

Then thou thy regal scepter shalt lay by,
 For regal scepter then no more shall need,
 God shall be all in all.

84. Conviction to the serpent none belongs.] No proof is needful against the serpent, compell'd by Satan to be the ignorant instrument of his malice against mankind,
 now

Of high collateral glory': him Thrones and Powers,
 Princedoms, and Dominations ministrant
 Accompanied to Heaven gate, from whence
 Eden and all the coast in prospect lay.
 Down he descended strait; the speed of Gods 90
 Time counts not, though with swiftest minutes wing'd.
 Now was the sun in western cadence low
 From noon, and gentle airs due at their hour
 To fan the earth now wak'd, and usher in
 The evening cool, when he from wrath more cool 95
 Came the mild judge and intercessor both
 To sentence Man: the voice of God they heard
 Now walking in the garden, by soft winds
 Brought to their ears, while day declin'd; they heard,
 And

now mute and unable to answer for that is in other words, IV. 485.
 himself. *Hume.*

— to have thee *by my side*
 Henceforth an individual solace
 dear.

92. *Now was the sun in western
 cadence low*

From noon, and gentle airs &c.]

This beautiful description is found-
 ed upon this verse Genesis III. 8.
*And they heard the voice of the Lord
 God walking in the garden in the
 cool of the day; and Adam and his
 wife hid themselves from the presence
 of the Lord God amongst the trees of
 the garden.*

P 2

102. — to

86. *Of high collateral glory:]* He
 uses *collateral*, as he does most other
 words, in a sense agreeable to the
 etymology, side by side. The Son
 sat at the right hand of the Father,
 and rising from thence he may pro-
 perly be said to rise *from his seat of
 high collateral glory*, or as it is else-
 where express'd, VI. 747. *from the
 right hand of glory where he sat.*
 The word was used before in VIII.
 426.

Collateral love, and dearest amity,

And from his presence hid themselves among 100

The thickest trees, both man and wife, till God

Approaching, thus to Adam call'd aloud.

Where art thou Adam, wont with joy to meet

My coming seen far off? I miss thee here,

Not pleas'd, thus entertain'd with solitude, 105

Where obvious duty' ere while appear'd unfought:

Or come I less conspicuous, or what change

Absents thee, or what chance detains? Come forth.

He came, and with him Eve, more loath, though
first

To' offend, discount'nanc'd both, and discompos'd;

Love was not in their looks, either to God 111

Or to each other, but apparent guilt,

And shame, and perturbation, and despair,

Anger, and obstinacy', and hate, and guile. 114

Whence Adam faltring long, thus answer'd brief.

I heard thee in the gard'n, and of thy voice

Afraid, being naked, hid myself. To whom

The

102. — to Adam call'd aloud.

Where art thou Adam?] Gen.

III. 9. And the Lord God called unto Adam, and said unto him, Where art thou? It is curious to observe how the poet paraphrases

and enlarges upon the divine historian.

116. I heard thee in the gard'n, and of thy voice

Afraid, being naked, hid myself.]

Gen. III. 10. And he said, I heard thy

The gracious judge without revile reply'd.
 My voice thou oft hast heard, and hast not fear'd,
 But still rejoic'd; how is it now become 120
 So dreadful to thee? that thou' art naked, who
 Hath told thee? hast thou eaten of the tree,
 Whereof I gave thee charge thou shouldst not eat?

To whom thus Adam sore beset reply'd.
 O Heav'n! in evil strait this day I stand 125
 Before my judge, either to undergo
 Myself the total crime, or to accuse
 My other self, the partner of my life;
 Whose failing, while her faith to me remains,
 I should conceal, and not expose to blame 130
 By my complaint; but strict necessity
 Subdues me, and calamitous constraint,
 Lest on my head both sin and punishment,
 However insupportable, be all 134
 Devolv'd; though should I hold my peace, yet thou
 Wouldst easily detect what I conceal.

This

*thy voice in the garden, and I was
 afraid, because I was naked; and I
 hid myself.*

121. — *that thou' art naked, who
 Hath told thee? hast thou eaten of
 the tree,*

*Whereof I gave thee charge thou
 shouldst not eat?] Gen. III. 11.
 And he said, Who told thee that thou
 wast naked? hast thou eaten of the
 tree, whereof I commanded thee that
 thou shouldst not eat?*

P 3

137. *This*

This Woman, whom thou mad'st to be my help,
 And gav'st me as thy perfect gift, so good,
 So fit, so acceptable, so divine,
 That from her hand I could suspect no ill, 140
 And what she did, whatever in itself,
 Her doing seem'd to justify the deed;
 She gave me of the tree, and I did eat.

To whom the sovran Presence thus reply'd.
 Was she thy God, that her thou didst obey 145
 Before his voice, or was she made thy guide,
 Superior, or but equal, that to her
 Thou didst resign thy manhood, and the place
 Wherein God set thee' above her made of thee,
 And for thee, whose perfection far excell'd 150
 Hers in all real dignity? Adorn'd

She

137. *This Woman, whom thou mad'st to be my help,* same strain as he had done before to the Angel VIII. 549.
And gav'st me as thy perfect gift— — what she wills to do or say]
She gave me of the tree, and I did eat.] Gen. III. 12. *And* Seems wisest &c.
the Man said, The Woman, whom thou gavest to be with me, she gave me of the tree, and I did eat. We And his unwillingness to accuse his wife, and yet the necessity of his doing it, are finely imagin'd.
151. — Adorn'd
She was indeed, and lovely to attract Thy love, not thy subjection;] The same sort of sentiment as the Angel had inculcated VIII. 568.
Adam speaks of Eve much in the — fair no doubt, and worthy well Thy

She was indeed, and lovely to attract
 Thy love, not thy subjection; and her gifts
 Were such as under government well seem'd,
 Unseemly to bear rule, which was thy part 155
 And person, hadst thou known thyself aright.

So having said, he thus to Eve in few.
 Say Woman, what is this which thou hast done?
 To whom sad Eve with shame nigh overwhelm'd,
 Confessing soon, yet not before her judge 160
 Bold or loquacious, thus abash'd reply'd.
 The Serpent me beguil'd, and I did eat.

Which when the Lord God heard, without delay
 To judgment he proceeded on th' accus'd
 Serpent though brute, unable to transfer 165
 The guilt on him who made him instrument

Of

Thy cherishing, thy honoring, and
 thy love,

Not thy subjection.

And in other parts of his works our
 author seems to have been a stren-
 uous advocate for keeping up the
 authority of the husband.

155. — thy part

And person,] A pure Latinism.
 The personæ dramatis. So Cicero
 pro Muren. c. 2. Has partes leni-
 tatis et misericordiæ, quas me na-
 tura ipsa docuit, semper ago liben-

ter, illam vero gravitatis, severitatis
 personam non appetivi. Milton in
 his History of England, p. 37. Edit.
 Tol. uses the word thus, "If it
 "were an honor to that person
 "which he sustain'd. Richardson.

158. Say Woman, what is this
 which thou hast done?] Gen.

III. 13. And the Lord God said unto
 the Woman, What is this that thou
 hast done?

162. The Serpent me beguil'd, and
 I did eat.] And the Woman

P 4

said

Of mischief, and polluted from the end
 Of his creation; justly then accurs'd,
 As vitiated in nature : more to know
 Concern'd not Man (since he no further knew) 170
 Nor alter'd his offence; yet God at last
 To Satan first in sin his doom apply'd,
 Though in mysterious terms, judg'd as then best :
 And on the Serpent thus his curse let fall.
 Because thou hast done this, thou art accurs'd 175
 Above

said, The Serpent beguiled me, and I did eat.

169. — more to know

Concern'd not Man (since he no further knew)] This is badly express'd. The meaning is, As Man was not to be let into the mystery of the redemption at this time, it did not concern him to know that the serpent was but the instrument of the Devil. When Milton wrote this, I fancy he had it not then in his thoughts to make Michael reveal to Adam in the last book the doctrine of redemption; or if he did intend it, he forgot that a theological comment on those words in Genesis would ill agree with what was to follow.

Warburton.

175. *Because thou hast done this, &c.*] As near as may be to the very words of Scripture, Gen. III. 14, 15. *And the Lord God said unto the Serpent, Because thou hast done this, thou art cursed above all cattle, and*

above every beast of the field: upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life: And I will put enmity between thee and the Woman, and between thy seed and her seed: it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel. Our author was certainly here more in the right than ever in adhering religiously to the words of Scripture, tho' he has thereby spoil'd the harmony of his verse. He thought without doubt that to mix any thing of his own would be a violation of decency, and a profanation, like that of Uzzah's putting forth his hand to the ark of God. And the sentence is very well explain'd by him, that it was pronounc'd immediately upon the Serpent as *made the instrument of mischief and vitiated in nature*, but is to be apply'd mediately to Satan, the old Serpent, though in mysterious terms; And as the author explains how the sentence was to be understood before he relates

Above all cattel, each beast of the field;
 Upon thy belly groveling thou shalt go,
 And dust shalt eat all the days of thy life.
 Between thee and the Woman I will put
 Enmity, and between thine and her seed; 180
 Her seed shall bruise thy head, thou bruise his heel.

So spake this oracle, then verify'd
 When Jesus son of Mary, second Eve,
 Saw Satan fall like lightning down from Heaven,

Prince

lates it, so he shows afterwards how
 it was fulfill'd.

182. — *oracle, then verify'd*
When Jesus Son of Mary, &c.] Here
 is a manifest indication, That,
 when Milton wrote this passage, he
 thought *Paradise* was chiefly re-
 gain'd at our Saviour's resurrection.
 This would have been a copious
 and sublime subject for a second
 poem. The wonders then to be
 described would have erected even
 an ordinary poet's genius; and in
 episodes he might have introduc'd
 his conception, birth, miracles, and
 all the history of his administration,
 while on earth. And I much
 grieve, that instead of this he
 should choose for the argument of
 his *Paradise* Regain'd the fourth
 chapter of Luke, *the temptation in*
the wilderness; a dry, barren, and
 narrow ground, to build an epic
 poem on. In that work he has
 amplified his scanty materials to a
 surprising dignity; but yet, being

cramp'd down by a wrong choice,
 without the expected applause.

Bentley.

184. *Saw Satan fall like lightning*
down from Heaven, &c.]

Here are several allusions to Scrip-
 ture; as particularly to Luke X. 18.
I beheld Satan as lightning fall from
Heaven. Prince of the air, so he is
call'd Eph. II. 2. the prince of the
power of the air. Spoil'd Principa-
lities and Pow'rs, triumph'd in open
show, according to Col. II. 15. And
having spoiled Principalities and
Powers, he made a show of them
openly, triumphing over them in it.
And with ascension bright captivity
led captive, led captive those who
had led us captive. Psal. LXVIII.
18. Thou hast ascended on high, thou
hast led captivity captive, applied to
our Saviour by St. Paul, Eph. IV. 8.
The air the realm of Satan, who is
therefore call'd the prince of the
power of the air, as we quoted be-
fore. Whom he shall tread at last
under

Prince of the air; then rising from his grave 185
 Spoil'd Principalities and Pow'rs, triumph'd
 In open show, and with ascension bright
 Captivity led captive through the air,
 The realm itself of Satan long usurp'd,
 Whom he shall tread at last under our feet; 190
 Ev'n he who now foretold his fatal bruise,
 And to the Woman thus his sentence turn'd,
 Thy sorrow I will greatly multiply
 By thy conception; children thou shalt bring
 In sorrow forth; and to thy husband's will 195
 Thine shall submit; he over thee shall rule.

On Adam last thus judgment he pronounc'd.
 Because thou' hast hearken'd to the' voice of thy wife,
 And eaten of the tree, concerning which 199
 I charg'd thee, say'ing, Thou shalt not eat thereof:
 Curs'd

under our feet: Rom. XVI. 20. And the God of peace shall bruise Satan under your feet. We see by these instances what use our author had made of reading the Scriptures.

192. *And to the Woman thus his sentence turn'd. &c.] Gen. III. 16. Unto the Woman he said, I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception; in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children; and thy desire shall be to thy husband; and he shall rule over thee.*

197. *On Adam last thus judgment he pronounc'd. &c.] He is equally exact in reporting the sentence pronounc'd upon Adam, Gen. III. 17, 18, 19. And unto Adam he said, Because thou hast hearken'd unto the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the tree of which I commanded thee saying, Thou shalt not eat of it: cursed is the ground for thy sake; in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life: Thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee;*

Curs'd is the ground for thy sake; thou in sorrow
 Shalt eat thereof all the days of thy life;
 Thorns also' and thistles it shall bring thee forth
 Unbid; and thou shalt eat th' herb of the field,
 In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, 205
 Till thou return unto the ground; for thou
 Out of the ground wast taken, know thy birth,
 For dust thou art, and shalt to dust return.

So judg'd he Man, both judge and saviour sent,
 And th' instant stroke of death denounc'd that day
 Remov'd far off; then pitying how they stood 211
 Before him naked to the air, that now
 Must suffer change, disdain'd not to begin
 Thenceforth the form of servant to assume,
 As when he wash'd his servants feet, so now 215
 As father of his family he clad

Their

thee; and thou shalt eat the herb of the field: In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground, for out of it wast thou taken; for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return. We quote these passages at length, that without any trouble they may be compar'd with the poem.

214. — *the form of servant to assume, &c.* Alluding to Phil. II. 7. *But made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form*

of a servant. As when he wash'd his servants feet, John XIII.

216. — *he clad*

Their nakedness with skins of beasts, Gen. III. 21. *Unto Adam also, and to his wife did the Lord God make coats of skins, and clothed them.* And our author, we see, understands it literally, though it is sufficient if it was done by the divine providence and direction. But some commentators torment themselves and the text by asking how Adam and Eve came

Their nakedness with skins of beasts, or slain,
 Or as the snake with youthful coat repaid;
 And thought not much to clothe his enemies:
 Nor he their outward only with the skins 220
 Of beasts, but inward nakedness, much more
 Opprobrious, with his robe of righteousness,
 Arraying cover'd from his Father's sight.

To

came by the skins of beasts; and therefore our author adds they were *either slain*, but he does not say whether by one another, or for sacrifice, or for food; or *they shed their coats like snakes and were repaid with new ones*, a notion which we may presume he borrow'd from some commentator rather than advanced of himself. It seems too odd and extravagant to be a fancy of his own, but he might introduce it out of vanity to show his reading. Pliny indeed mentions some lesser creatures shedding their skins in the manner of snakes, but that is hardly authority sufficient for such a notion as this.

219. *And thought not much to clothe his enemies:*] Dr. Bentley says that this line is certainly of the editor's manufacture, and quite superfluous; because it divides what is naturally connected, and changes the sentiments, from a *family* under a gracious *father*, to the condition of *enemies*. But I don't see that it divides any natural connexion: and as for changing the sentiments, it does it to a beauty, not to a fault:

for it shows more goodness in a man to clothe his enemy, than only one of his family. Milton seems to have had in his thoughts what St. Paul says, Rom. V. 10. *When we were enemies, we were reconciled to God through the death of his Son.* Milton again had much the same sentiment, when he makes Adam say in ver. 1059. *Cloth'd us unworthy.* Pearce.

222. — *with his robe of righteousness,*] Isa. LXI. 10. *He hath clothed me with the garments of salvation, he hath covered me with the robe of righteousness.*

229. *Mean while ere thus was sinn'd and judg'd on earth,*] Two impersonals: Before Man had thus sinn'd, and God had judged him, Sin and Death sat in counter-view within the gates of Hell; but now upon Man's transgression and God's judgment Sin *thus began* and address'd herself to Death.

230. — *sat Sin and Death,*] We are now to consider the imaginary persons, or Sin and Death, who act a large part in this book. Such beautiful extended allegories are certainly

To him with swift ascent he up return'd,
 Into his blifsful bosom reasum'd 225
 In glory as of old; to him appeas'd
 All, tho' all-knowing, what had pass'd with Man
 Recounted, mixing intercession sweet.

Mean while ere thus was finn'd and judg'd on Earth,
 Within the gates of Hell sat Sin and Death, 230
 In

certainly some of the finest compositions of genius: but, as I have before observed, are not agreeable to the nature of an heroic poem. This of *Sin* and *Death* is very exquisite in its kind, if not consider'd as a part of such a work. The truths contained in it are so clear and open, that I shall not lose time in explaining them; but shall only observe, that a reader, who knows the strength of the English tongue, will be amazed to think how the poet could find such apt words and phrases to describe the actions of those two imaginary persons, and particularly in that part where *Death* is exhibited as forming a bridge over the Chaos; a work suitable to the genius of Milton. Since the subject I am upon, gives me an opportunity of speaking more at large of such shadowy and imaginary persons as may be introduced into heroic poems, I shall beg leave to explain myself in a matter which is curious in its kind, and which none of the critics have treated of. It is certain Homer and Virgil are full of imaginary persons, who are

very beautiful in poetry, when they are just shown, without being engaged in any series of action. Homer indeed represents *Sleep* as a person, and ascribes a short part to him in his *Iliad*; but we must consider that tho' we now regard such a person as entirely shadowy and unsubstantial, the Heathens made statues of him, placed him in their temples, and looked upon him as a real deity. When Homer makes use of other such allegorical persons, it is only in short expressions, which convey an ordinary thought to the mind in the most pleasing manner, and may rather be looked upon as poetical phrases than allegorical descriptions. Instead of telling us, that men naturally fly when they are terrified, he introduces the persons of *Flight* and *Fear*, who, he tells us, are inseparable companions. Instead of saying that the time was come when Apollo ought to have received his recompense, he tells us, that the *Hours* brought him his reward. Instead of describing the effects which Minerva's *Ægis* produced in battel, he

In counterview within the gates, that now
 Stood open wide, belching outrageous flame
 Far into Chaos, since the Fiend pass'd through,
 Sin opening, who thus now to Death began.

O Son, why sit we here each other viewing 235
 Idly, while Satan our great author thrives
 In other worlds, and happier seat provides

For

he tells us, that the brims of it were compassed by *Terror, Rout, Discord, Fury, Pursuit, Massacre* and *Death*. In the same figure of speaking, he represents *Victory* as following Diomedes; *Discord* as the mother of funerals and mourning; *Venus* as dressed by the *Graces*; *Bellona* as wearing *Terror* and *Con- sternation* like a garment. I might give several other instances out of Homer, as well as a great many out of Virgil. Milton has likewise very often made use of the same way of speaking, as where he tells us, that *Victory* sat on the right hand of the Messiah when he marched forth against the rebel Angels; that at the rising of the sun the *Hours* unbarr'd the gates of light; that *Discord* was the daughter of *Sin*. Of the same nature are those expressions, where describing the singing of the nightingale, he adds, *Silence was pleas'd*; and upon the Messiah's bidding peace to the Chaos, *Confusion heard his voice*. I might add innumerable instances of our poet's writing in this beautiful figure. It is

plain that these I have mention'd, in which persons of an imaginary nature are introduced, are such short allegories as are not designed to be taken in the literal sense, but only to convey particular circumstances to the reader after an unusual and entertaining manner. But when such persons are introduced as principal actors, and engaged in a series of adventures, they take too much upon them, and are by no means proper for an heroic poem, which ought to appear credible in its principal parts. I cannot forbear therefore thinking that *Sin* and *Death* are as improper agents in a work of this nature, as *Strength* and *Necessity* in one of the tragedies of Æschylus, who represented those two persons nailing down Prometheus to a rock, for which he has been justly censur'd by the greatest critics. I do not know any imaginary person made use of in a more sublime manner of thinking than that in one of the prophets, who describing God as descending from Heaven, and visiting the sins of mankind, adds that

For us his offspring dear? It cannot be
 But that success attends him; if mishap,
 Ere this he had return'd, with fury driven 240
 By his avengers, since no place like this
 Can fit his punishment, or their revenge.
 Methinks I feel new strength within me rise,
 Wings growing, and dominion giv'n me large
 Beyond

that dreadful circumstance, *Before him went the Pestilence*. It is certain this imaginary person might have been described in all her purple spots. The *Fever* might have marched before her, *Pain* might have stood at her right hand, *Phrenzy* on her left, and *Death* in her rear. She might have been introduced as gliding down from the tail of a comet, or darted upon the earth in a flash of lightning: She might have tainted the atmosphere with her breath; the very glaring of her eyes might have scatter'd infection. But I believe every reader will think, that in such sublime writings the mentioning of her as it is done in Scripture, has something in it more just, as well as great, than all that the most fanciful poet could have bestowed upon her in the richness of his imagination. *Addison*. I have been inform'd, that there has lately been publish'd in High Dutch a Critical Dissertation on the marvelous in poetry, and its connexion with the probable, in a defense of Milton's *Paradise Lost* against several objections of Monsieur Voltaire and other critics, wherein likewise the characters and actions of Sin and Death are vindicated in answer to Mr. Addison. It is hoped that some skilful hand or other will translate this piece for the benefit of the English reader. Milton may rather be justified for introducing such imaginary beings as Sin and Death, because a great part of his poem lies in the invisible world, and such fictitious beings may better have a place there; and the actions of Sin and Death are at least as probable as those ascribed to the good or evil Angels. Besides as Milton's subject necessarily admitted so few real persons, he was in a manner obliged to supply that defect by introducing imaginary ones: and the characters of Sin and Death are perfectly agreeable to the hints and sketches, which are given of them in Scripture. The Scripture had made persons of them before in several places; only the Scripture has represented them as I may say in miniature, and he has drawn them in their full length and proportions.

Beyond this deep; whatever draws me on, 245
 Or sympathy, or some connatural force
 Pow'rful at greatest distance to unite
 With secret amity things of like kind
 By secretest conveyance. Thou my shade
 Inseparable must with me along: 250
 For Death from Sin no pow'r can separate.
 But lest the difficulty of passing back
 Stay his return perhaps over this gulf
 Impassable, impervious, let us try
 Adventrous work, yet to thy pow'r and mine 255
 Not unagreeable, to found a path
 Over this main from Hell to that new world
 Where Satan now prevails, a monument
 Of merit high to all th' infernal host,

Easing

245. — *whatever draws me on,*
Or sympathy, or some connatural
force] The modern philoso-
 pher may perhaps take offense at
 this now exploded notion, but every
 friend to the Muses will, I doubt
 not, pardon it for the sake of that
 fine strain of poetry, which it has
 given the poet an opportunity of
 introducing in the following descrip-
 tion. *Thyer.*

249. — *Thou my shade &c.*] We
 sometimes find *shade* used much after

the same manner in the best Classic
 authors. Hor. Sat. II. VIII. 22.

— *quos Mæcenas adduxerat umbras.*
 Epist. I. V. 28.

— *locus est et pluribus umbris.*

But it has a farther propriety and
 beauty in this place, as Death *seem'd*
a shadow, II. 669. and was the in-
 separable companion as well as of-
 spring of Sin. Shakespear in the
 same manner uses *shadow* as the
 Latins

Easing their passage hence, for intercourse, 260
 Or transmigration, as their lot shall lead.
 Nor can I miss the way, so strongly drawn
 By this new felt attraction and instinct.

Whom thus the meager Shadow answer'd soon.
 Go whither fate and inclination strong 265
 Leads thee; I shall not lag behind, nor err
 The way, thou leading, such a sent I draw
 Of carnage, prey innumerable, and taste
 The favor of Death from all things there that live:
 Nor shall I to the work thou enterprisest 270
 Be wanting, but afford thee equal aid.

So saying, with delight he snuff'd the smell
 Of mortal change on earth. As when a flock
 Of ravenous fowl, though many a league remote,

Against

Latins use *umbra*. 2 Hen. IV. Act II.
 Points to Prince Henry,

I am your *shadow*, my Lord, I'll
 follow you.

260. — *for intercourse,*
Or transmigration, as their lot
shall lead.] Intercourse, pas-
sing frequently backward and for-
ward; transmigration, quitting Hell
once for all to inhabit the new
creation; they were uncertain
which their lot should be.

Richardson.

VOL. II.

263. *By this new felt attraction*
and instinct.] He uses instinct
here as a substantive, and in other
places as a participle, in the same
manner and in the same sense as
the Latins use instinctus: but in-
stances of his using English words as
Latin words are innumerable.

266. — *nor err*
The way,] Nor mistake the way.
 A remarkable expression.

273. *As when a flock*
Of ravenous fowl &c.] Of Vul-
turs particularly it is said by Pliny,
that

Q

Against the day of battel, to a field, 275
 Where armies lie incamp'd, come flying, lur'd
 With sent of living carcasses design'd
 For death, the following day, in bloody fight:
 So sented the grim Feature, and upturn'd
 His nostril wide into the murky air, 280
 Sagacious of his quarry from so far.
 Then both from out Hell gates into the waste
 Wide anarchy of Chaos damp and dark
 Flew diverse, and with pow'r (their pow'r was great)
 Hovering upon the waters, what they met 285
 Solid

that they will fly three days before-
 hand to places where there are fu-
 ture carcasses. Triduo autem antea
 volare eos, ubi cadavera futura sunt.
 Lib. 10. cap. 6. And (what pro-
 bably gave occasion to this simili-
 tude in Milton) Lucan has described
 the ravenous birds that follow'd the
 Roman camps, and sented the battel
 of Pharsalia. VII. 831.

Jamque diu volucres civilia castra
 fecutæ

Conveniunt —

— nunquam se tanto vulture
 cœlum

Induit, aut plures prefferunt aera
 pennæ.

And to this let me add, what Mr.
 Thyer has quoted from Aldrovandus.
 Quod autem aliqui addunt,
 tam sagaciter odorari vultures, ut
 biduo triduove, imo septenis, ut alii,

diebus ante ea loca circumvolent, in
 quibus cadavera futura sunt, ineptè
 sanè ad odorandi facultatem refer-
 tur, cum eorum, quæ necdum sunt,
 cadaverum nullus odor esse possit.
 Sensus enim præsentium est. Quare
 ad quandam augurandi vim, si sic
 loqui possumus, id pertinere putan-
 dum est. Ridicule igitur Georgius
 Pictorius,

Hanc volucrem narrant luces tres
 nosse cadaver

Venturum, olfactu tam viget
 hæc volucris.

Aldrov. Ornith. Lib. 2.

I shall not undertake absolutely to
 defend Milton's introducing a fabu-
 lous story by way of simile; yet I
 think in this place it may be par-
 don'd, since no other illustration
 could have been found so pat to the
 present case.

280. His

Solid or slimy, as in raging sea
 Toft up and down, together crouded drove
 From each fide shoaling tow'ards the mouth of Hell:
 As when two polar winds, blowing adverse
 Upon the Cronian sea, together drive 290
 Mountains of ice, that stop th' imagin'd way
 Beyond Petfora eastward, to the rich
 Cathaian coast. The aggregated foil
 Death with his mace petrific, cold and dry,
 As with a trident smote, and fix'd as firm 295
 As Delos floting once; the rest his look

Bound

280. *His nostril wide into the
 murky air,]*

Et patulis captavit naribus auras.

Virg. Georg. I. 376.

Murky air, black tainted air. Spenser has *mirkfome air*. Fairy Queen, B. I. C. 5. St. 28.

Through *mirkfome air* her ready way she makes.

And the Glossary to Spenser explains *mirkfome* by obscure, filthy. I find Shakespear too uses the word *murky*. Lady Macbeth says in her sleep — *Hell is murky*, Act. V.

281. *Sagacious]* Quick of sent. Sagire enim, sentire acute est; ex quo sagaces dicti canes. Cic. de Divinat. A fit comparison for the chief Hell-bound. Hume.

289. *As when two polar winds, &c.]* Sin and Death, flying into

different parts of Chaos, and driving all the matter they meet with there in shoals towards the mouth of Hell, are compar'd to *two polar winds*, north and south, *blowing adverse upon the Cronian sea*, the northern frozen sea, (A Thule unius diei navigatione mare concretum, a nonnullis Cronium appellatur. Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 4. cap. 16.) and *driving together mountains of ice, that stop th' imagin'd way*, the north-east passage as it is call'd, which so many have attempted to discover, *beyond Petfora eastward*, the most north-eastern province of Muscovy, *to the rich Cathaian coast*, Cathay or Catay, a country of Asia and the northern part of China.

296. *As Delos floting once;]* An island in the Archipelago said to have floted about in the sea, till it became the birth-place of Apollo.

Bound with Gorgonian rigor not to move;
 And with Asphaltic slime, broad as the gate,
 Deep to the roots of Hell the gather'd beach
 They fasten'd, and the mole immense wrought on 300
 Over the foaming deep high arch'd, a bridge

Of

Callimachus in his hymn call'd Delos has given a most enchanting description of this matter. *Richardson.*

296. — *the rest his look &c.*] In Milton's own editions the passage was thus.

—— the rest his look
 Bound with Gorgonian rigor not
 to move,
 And with Asphaltic slime; broad
 as the gate,
 Deep to the roots of Hell the gather'd beach
 They fasten'd,

A difficult passage, which Dr. Bentley perceiv'd and try'd to mend thus,

As Delos *now*, once floating: *then*
 his look
 The fabric with Gorgonian pow'r
 fast bound,
 As with Asphaltic slime. Broad as
 the gate, &c.

But he did not observe, that Milton by the words *the rest* meant those substances, which were not *solid* or *soil*, but were soft and *slimy*. ver. 286. And Death is here described as not binding fast the fabric (the foundation of that was yet but laying) but as hardening the soft and

slimy substances, and fixing them (like the *soil*) for the foundation of his bridge. To *Gorgonian rigor* the Doctor objects that the *rigor* or hardness was not in the Gorgon's look, but in the object turn'd into stone. And so it may be understood here—a *rigor* such as was caus'd by the Gorgon's look. Milton has the authority of Claudian for expressing himself thus,

rigidâ cum Gorgone Perseus.
 In Ruffin. I. 279.

Again, the Doctor objects to *And with Asphaltic slime*, because then the construction would be, his *look* bound it with *slime*. I agree with him that this could not come from Milton. But then I think the Doctor's change of *And* into *As* does not sufficiently mend the passage; for does it not lessen the thought to say, that it was bound with *Gorgonian pow'r* as with *slime*? even *Asphaltic slime* had not that binding power, which fable supposes *the Gorgon's look* to have had. Thus I can see that neither the common reading nor the Doctor's are free from great exceptions. There is only one way (I think) in which all these difficulties are to be got over, and that is by changing two of the points

Of length prodigious, joining to the wall
 Immoveable of this now fenceless world
 Forfeit to Death; from hence a passage broad,
 Smooth, easy, inoffensive down to Hell. 305
 So, if great things to small may be compar'd,
 Xerxes,

points in the passage, and reading thus;

—— the rest his look
 Bound with Gorgonian rigor not
 to move.
 And with Asphaltic slime, broad
 as the gate,
 Deep to the roots of Hell, the ga-
 ther'd beach
 They fasten'd, ——

The first part of the passage, ending at *move*, I understand as relating only to the hardening the soft and slimy substances: and all the rest seems to relate to the fast'ning the foundation with *Asphaltic slime* to the roots of Hell. I may be mistaken in my conjecture; but this reading (methinks) bids fairer for the true one, than either of the other two. *Pearce.*

It appears that by *the rest* we are to understand the *slimy* parts, as distinguish'd from the *solid* or *soil*: and it would be very absurd to say, that his look bound the slimy parts *with Asphaltic slime* or *as with Asphaltic slime*. It is much easier to suppose with Mr. Richardson that the comma after *move* and the semicolon after *slime* have changed places, and that the passage should be read thus

—— the rest his look
 Bound with Gorgonian rigor not
 to move;
 And with Asphaltic slime, broad as
 the gate,
 Deep to the roots of Hell &c.

The sense is then the very same as in the foregoing most excellent remark of Dr. Pearce's, and we venture to print it accordingly. We generally follow carefully Milton's own punctuation; but though he was extremely accurate, yet he was not always infallible. A false pointing may now and then escape the most correct writer and printer in the world.

304. — *from hence a passage broad,
 Smooth, easy, inoffensive down to
 Hell.*] Alluding perhaps to
 Virgil, *Æn.* VI. 126.

—— *facilis descensus Averni:*
 Or to the paths of wickedness,
Hesiod. Epy. I. 285.

Τὴν μὲν τοῖς κακότητά καὶ ἰαδ' ἐν
 εἶν' εἰεῖσαι
 Πνίδιος· οὐλὴν [λεῖν] μὲν οὐδ',
 μαλαὰ δ' ἐγγυθὶ ναιεῖ. Jortin.

306. *So Xerxes &c.*] This simile
 is very exact and beautiful. As Sin
 Q 3 and

Xerxes, the liberty of Greece to yoke,
 From Susa his Memnonian palace high
 Came to the sea, and over Hellespont
 Bridging his way, Europe with Asia join'd, 310
 And scourg'd with many a stroke th' indignant waves,
 Now had they brought the work by wondrous art
 Pontifical, a ridge of pendent rock,
 Over the vex'd abyss, following the track
 Of Satan to the self same place where he 315
 First lighted from his wing, and landed safe
 From

and Death built a bridge over Chaos to subdue and enslave mankind: *So if great things to small may be compar'd, Si parva licet componere magnis*, as Virgil says, Georg. IV. 176. *Xerxes*, the Persian monarch, to bring the free states of Greece under his yoke, *came from Susa*, the chief city of Susiana a province of Persia, the residence of the Persian Monarchs, called *Memnonia* by Herodotus, of Memnon who built it and reigned there; *and over Hellespont bridging his way*, and building a bridge over Hellespont, the narrow sea by Constantinople, that divides Europe from Asia, to march his large army over it, *Europe with Asia join'd*, and *scourg'd with many a stroke th' indignant waves*; alluding particularly to Xerxes his madness in ordering the sea to be whipt for the loss of some of his ships; *indignant waves*, scorning and raging

to be so confin'd, as Virgil says, *Pontem indignatus Araxes*, Æn. VIII. 728. and Georg. II. 162.

Atque indignatum magnis stridoribus æquor.

Lucan has likewise made a simile of Xerxes his bridge over the Hellespont. Pharsal. II. 672.

Tales fama canit tumidum super æquora Xerxem

Construxisse vias, multum cum pontibus ausus,

Europamque Asiæ, Sestonque admovit Abydo,

Incessitque fretum rapidi super Hellesponti.

312. — *by wondrous art Pontifical,*] By the strange art of raising bridges. *Pontifex*, the high priest of the Romans, had that name from *pons* a bridge and *facere* to make: *Quia publicus pons a Pontif-*

From out of Chaos, to the outside bare
 Of this round world: with pins of adamant
 And chains they made all fast, too fast they made
 And durable; and now in little space 320
 The confines met of empyréan Heaven
 And of this World, and on the left hand Hell
 With long reach interpos'd; three several ways
 In fight, to each of these three places led.
 And now their way to Earth they had descry'd, 325
 To Paradise first tending, when behold

Satan

Pontificibus factus est primum, et restitutus sæpe, according to Varro.

Hume.

Art pontifical, this is a very bad expression to signify the art of building bridges, and yet to suppose a pun would be worse, as if the Roman priesthood were as ready to make the way easy to Hell, as Sin and Death did. Warburton.

317. *From out of Chaos, to the outside bare*] In Milton's own editions the verses are thus,

Of Satan, to the self same place
 where he
 First lighted from his wing, and
 landed safe
 From out of Chaos to the outside
 bare &c.

Is not here a false print? and is it not properer to read *landed safe on the outside bare of this round world* than *landed safe to the outside*? Or

rather is not here another instance of false pointing? and should not the comma after *Satan* be omitted, and be inserted after *Chaos*? and is not this the construction of the whole passage? *Now had they brought the work — over the vex'd abyss — to the outside bare of this round world, following the track of Satan to the self same place where he first lighted from his wing, and landed safe from out of Chaos.* We venture to print it accordingly, not knowing well how to make sense and grammar of it otherwise.

322. — *on the left hand Hell*] He places Hell on the left hand according to our Saviour's description of the day of judgment, *Then shall he say unto them on the left hand, Matt. XXV. 41:* or rather according to Virgil, who makes Hell to lie on the left hand, as Elysium lay on the right, *Æn. VI. 542.*

Q 4

— At

Satan in likeness of an Angel bright
 Betwixt the Centaur and the Scorpion steering
 His zenith, while the sun in Aries rose:
 Disguis'd he came, but those his children dear 330
 Their parent soon discern'd, though in disguise.
 He after Eve seduc'd, unminded slunk
 Into the wood fast by, and changing shape
 To' observe the sequel, saw his guileful act
 By Eve, though all unweeting, seconded 335
 Upon her husband, saw their shame that fought
 Vain covertures; but when he saw descend
 The Son of God to judge them, terrify'd
 He fled, not hoping to escape, but shun
 The present, fearing guilty what his wrath 340
 Might

— At læva malorum
 Exercet pœnas, et ad impia tarta-
 ra mittit.

328. *Betwixt the Centaur and the
 Scorpion steering*

*His zenith, while the sun in Aries
 rose:]* Alluding to a ship
 steering her course betwixt two
 ilands: So Satan directed his way
 between these two signs of the zo-
 diac, upwards: the zenith is over-
 head.

Richardson.
 Dr. Bentley puts a comma after
steering; but there should be none;
 for the sense is, *steering to his zenith*,
 or upwards, towards the outside of

this round world, from whence he
 had come down, ver. 317. Besides
 the Doctor instead of *rose* reads *rode*:
 but it was *evening*, when Messiah
 came and pass'd the sentence on the
 transgressors, ver. 92. and after that
Sin and Death made the bridge; so
 that the sun might be *rising* in Aries,
 when they met Satan *steering his
 zenith*. And this is confirm'd by
 what follows here in ver. 341 &c.

Pearce.

Satan to avoid being discover'd (as
 he had been before, IV. 569. &c.)
 by Uriel regent of the sun, takes
 care to keep at as great a distance
 as possible, and therefore *while the
 sun*

Might suddenly inflict; that past, return'd
 By night, and list'ning where the hapless pair
 Sat in their sad discourse, and various plaint,
 Thence gather'd his own doom, which understood
 Not instant, but of future time, with joy 345
 And tidings fraught, to Hell he now return'd,
 And at the brink of Chaos, near the foot
 Of this new wondrous pontifice, unhop'd
 Met who to meet him came, his offspring dear.
 Great joy was at their meeting, and at sight 350
 Of that stupendous bridge his joy increas'd.
 Long he admiring stood, till Sin, his fair
 Inchanting daughter, thus the silence broke.
 O Parent, these are thy magnific deeds, 354
 Thy

sun rose in Aries, he steers his course directly upwards *betwixt the Centaur and the Scorpion*, two constellations which lay in a quite different part of the Heavens from Aries.

344. — which understood
Not instant, but of future time, with joy &c.] In Milton's own editions, and in all the rest which I have seen till Mr. Fenton's and Dr. Bentley's it was falsely printed thus,

— which understood
 Not instant, but of future time.
 With joy &c.

But the sense evidently shows that

the sentence should be continued: From their discourse Satan gather'd his own doom, which being understood not instant, but of future time, he now return'd with joy to Hell.

345. — with joy
And tidings fraught,] That is with joyful tidings. So Virgil, *Munera lætitiæque Dei*, Æn. I. 636. for *munera læta*. *Squamis æuroque*, Æn. VIII. 436. for *aureis squamis*.

Richardson.

348. *Of this new wondrous pontifice,*] The new bridge, the effect of wondrous art pontifical, ver. 312.

358. *Then*

Thy trophies, which thou view'st as not thine own;
 Thou art their author and prime architect:
 For I no sooner in my heart divin'd,
 My heart, which by a secret harmony
 Still moves with thine, join'd in connexion sweet,
 That thou on earth hadst prosper'd, which thy looks
 Now also evidence, but strait I felt 361
 Though distant from thee worlds between, yet felt
 That I must after thee with this thy son,
 Such fatal consequence unites us three:
 Hell could no longer hold us in her bounds, 365
 Nor this unvoyageable gulf obscure
 Detain from following thy illustrious track.
 Thou hast achiev'd our liberty, confin'd
 Within Hell gates till now, thou us impower'd
 To fortify thus far, and overlay 370
 With this portentous bridge the dark abyfs.
 Thine now is all this world; thy virtue' hath won

What

368. *Thou hast achiev'd our liberty, confin'd*
Within Hell gates till now, —]
 What liberty confin'd in Hell? a mere contradiction, says Dr. Bentley. He therefore reads *Us*, us confin'd till now in Hell. But *our* is the same as *of us*: and Milton means, the liberty of us confin'd till now in Hell. See more instances of this IV. 129. VIII. 423. and IX. 908. Pearce.
 381. *His quadrature, from thy orbicular world,]* This world is orbicular or round; the empyreal Heaven is a quadrature or square. Our author had said before, Book II. 1048. that it was undetermin'd square or round, and so it might be

What thy hands builded not, thy wisdom gain'd
 With odds what war hath lost, and fully' aveng'd
 Our foil in Heav'n; here thou shalt monarch reign,
 There didst not; there let him still victor sway, 376
 As battel hath adjudg'd, from this new world
 Retiring, by his own doom alienated,
 And henceforth monarchy with thee divide
 Of all things parted by th' empyreal bounds, 380
 His quadrature, from thy orbicular world,
 Or try thee now more dange'rous to his throne.

Whom thus the Prince of darkness answer'd glad.
 Fair Daughter, and thou Son and Grandchild both,
 High proof ye now have giv'n to be the race 385
 Of Satan, (for I glory in the name,
 Antagonist of Heav'n's almighty king)
 Amply have merited of me, of all
 Th' infernal empire, that so near Heav'n's door
 Triumphal with triumphal act have met, 390

Mine

to Satan viewing it at that distance:
 But here he follows the opinion of
 Gassendus and others, who say that
 the Empyréum or Heaven of Hea-
 vens is of a square figure because
 the holy city in the Revelation is so
 describ'd, Rev. XXI. 16. *And the
 city lieth four-square, and the length is
 as large as the breadth,*

383. — *the Prince of darkness*]
 Satan may well be so call'd, since
 his Angels are stiled in Scripture,
the rulers of the darkness of this world,
 Eph. VI. 12.

386. — *for I glory in the name,
 Antagonist &c.]* The name Satan
 signifies *Antagonist* or *Adversary*, as
 we observ'd before.

391. — *and*

Mine with this glorious work, and made one realm
 Hell and this world, one realm, one continent
 Of easy thorough-fare. Therefore while I
 Descend through darkness, on your road with ease,
 To my associate Pow'rs, them to acquaint 395
 With these successes, and with them rejoice,
 You two this way, among these numerous orbs
 All yours, right down to Paradise descend;
 There dwell and reign in bliss, thence on the earth
 Dominion exercise and in the air, 400
 Chiefly on Man, sole lord of all declar'd,
 Him first make sure your thrall, and lastly kill.

My

391. — *and made one realm
 Hell and this world, one realm, one
 continent &c.*] This is the ge-
 nuin reading; but Mr. Fenton and
 Dr. Bentley have both in the second
 line very absurdly printed *our realm*,
 though the Doctor places *one* in the
 margin, as if it were a conjecture
 of his own.

408. — *prevail*,] So it is in the
 first edition, in the second it is *pre-
 vails*.

409. *No detriment need fear*;] Here
 our author plainly alludes to the
 charge given by the Roman senate
 to the supreme magistrate in times
 of danger — *providere nequid resp.
 detrimenti accipiat*. Thyer.

409. — *go and be strong*.] Satan
 encourages Sin and Death in much

the same words as Moses does Jo-
 shua. Deut. XXXI. 7, 8.

412. *Spreading their bane*;] Ovid's
 description of the journey of Envy
 to Athens, and Milton's of Sin and
 Death's to Paradise, have a great
 resemblance. But whatever Milton
 imitates, he adds a greatness to it;
 as, in this place, he alters Ovid's
 flowers, herbs, people and cities to
 stars, planets and worlds. Ovid.
 Met. II. 791.

Quacunque ingreditur, florentia pro-
 terit arva,
 Exuritque herbas, et summa cacu-
 mina carpit;
 Afflatuque suo populos, urbesque
 domosque
 Polluit.

— where

My substitutes I send ye, and create
 Plenipotent on earth, of matchless might
 Issuing from me: on your joint vigor now 405
 My hold of this new kingdom all depends,
 Through Sin to Death expos'd by my exploit.
 If your joint pow'r prevail, th' affairs of Hell
 No detriment need fear; go and be strong.

So saying he dismiss'd them; they with speed 410
 Their course through thickest constellations held,
 Spreading their bane; the blasted stars look'd wan,
 And planets, planet-struck, real eclipse
 Then suffer'd. Th' other way Satan went down

The

——— where she fleers
 Her baneful course, a mighty blast
 appears,
 Mildews and blights; the meadows
 are defac'd,
 The fields, the flow'rs, and the whole
 year's laid waste:
 On mortals next, and peopled towns
 she falls,
 And breathes a burning plague
 among their walls. Addison.

See *An Essay upon Milton's imitations
 of the Ancients*, p. 42.

412. ——— *the blasted stars look'd
 wan, &c.*] Much in the same
 manner Marino describes his Jealously
 fallying out into the world.
Ad. Cant. 12. St. 29.

Tosto che fuor de la spelonca oscura

Uscì quel sozzo vomito d' inferno,
 Sentiro i fiori intorno, e la verdura
 Fiati di peste, et aliti d' Auerno.
*Poria col ciglio instupidir natura,
 Inhorridire il bel pianeta eterno,
 Intorbidar le stelle, e gli elementi.*

So Tasso speaking of Alecto. *Gier.
 Lib. Cant. 9. St. 1.*

Si parte, e doue passa i campi lieti
 Secca, e pallido il sol si fa repente.

Thyer.

413. *And planets, planet-struck,*
 We say of a thing when it is blasted
 and wither'd, that it is *planet-struck*;
 and this is now applied to the planets
 themselves. And what a sublime
 idea doth it give us of the devastations
 of Sin and Death!

417. *And*

The caufey to Hell gate ; on either fide 415
 Disparted Chaos over built exclam'd,
 And with rebounding furge the bars affail'd,
 That fcorn'd his indignation : through the gate,
 Wide open and unguarded, Satan pafs'd,
 And all about found defolate ; for thofe 420
 Appointed to fit there, had left their charge,
 Flown to the upper world ; the reft were all
 Far to th' inland retir'd, about the walls
 Of Pandemonium, city and proud feat
 Of Lucifer, fo by allufion call'd, 425
 Of that bright ftar to Satan paragon'd.
 There kept their watch the legions, while the Grand
 In council fat, folicitous what chance

Might

417. *And with rebounding furge the bars affail'd,*
That fcorn'd his indignation :] Virg.
 Georg. II. 161.

— Lucrinoque addita claustra,
 Atque indignatum magnis stridoribus æquor.

426. — *paragon'd.*] Of *paragonner* (French) to be equal to, to be like, of *παρά* juxta and *αγών* certamen. An exact idea or likenefs of a thing, able to conteft with the original.

Hume.

431. *As when the Tartar &c.*] As when the Tartar retreats from his Mufcovite enemy, over the fnowy

plains by *Astracan*, a confiderable part of the Czar's dominion, formerly a Tartarian kingdom, with a capital city of the fame name, near the mouth of the river Volga, at its fall into the Caspian fea ; or *Bactrian Sophi*, or the Perfian Emperor, named *Bactrian* of *Bactria*, one of the greateft and richeft provinces of *Persia*, lying near the Caspian Sea, from the horns of *Turkish crescent*, from his *Turkish* enemies who bear the horned moon, the crescent in their enfigns, leaves all waste beyond the realm of *Aladule*, the greater *Armenia*, call'd by the *Turks* (under whom the greateft part of it is) *Aladule*,

Might intercept their empe'ror sent; so he
 Departing gave command, and they observ'd. 430
 As when the Tartar from his Russian foe
 By Astracan over the snowy plains
 Retires, or Bactrian Sophi from the horns
 Of Turkish crescent, leaves all waste beyond
 The realm of Aladule, in his retreat 435
 To Tauris or Casbeen: So these the late
 Heav'n-banish'd host, left desert utmost Hell
 Many a dark league, reduc'd in careful watch
 Round their metropolis, and now expecting
 Each hour their great adventurer from the search 440
 Of foreign worlds: he through the midst unmark'd,
 In show plebeian Angel militant

Of

Aladule, of its last king Aladules, slain by Selymus the first, *in his retreat to Tauris*, a great city in the kingdom of Persia, now called Ec-batana, sometimes in the hands of the Turks, but in 1603 retaken by Abas king of Persia, *or Casbeen*, one of the greatest cities of Persia, in the province of Ayrach, formerly Parthia, towards the Caspian Sea, where the Persian monarchs made their residence after the loss of Tauris, from which it is distant 65 German miles to the south-east.

Hume.

433. — *or Bactrian Sophi fled from the horns*

Of Turkish crescent,] Dr. Bentley says, better thus,

— *or Bactrian Sophi fled from th' horns &c.*

But *from* is often used by Milton without expressing the participle, which yet is to be supplied in the sense. See II. 542. VIII. 213. and IX. 396. Pearce.

441. — *he through the midst unmark'd, &c.*] This account of Satan's passing unmark'd through the midst of the Angels, and ascending his throne invisible, and seeing there about him himself unseen, and then bursting forth, as from a cloud, in

Of lowest order, pass'd; and from the door
 Of that Plutonian hall, invisible
 Ascended his high throne, which under state 445
 Of richest texture spread, at th' upper end
 Was plac'd in regal lustre. Down a while
 He sat, and round about him saw unseen:
 At last as from a cloud his fulgent head
 And shape star-bright appear'd, or brighter, clad 450
 With what permissive glory since his fall

Was

in glory, seems to be copied from
 a like adventure of Æneas, Virg.
 Æn. I. 439.

Inferse septus nebula (mirabile dictu)
 Per medios, miscetque viris, neque
 cernitur ulli. —

Diffimulant, et nube cava specu-
 lantur amicti —

Vix ea fatus erat, cum circumfusa
 repente

Scindit se nubes, et in æthera pur-
 gat apertum.

Resstitit Æneas, clarâque in luce
 refulsit,

Os humerosque Deo similis.

—Then entering at the gate,
 Conceal'd in clouds, (prodigious to
 relate)

He mix'd, unmark'd, among the
 busy throng,

Borne by the tide, and pass'd un-
 seen along.

But doubtful of the wish'd event,
 he stays,

And from the hollow cloud his
 friends surveys —

Scarce had he spoken, when the
 cloud gave way,

The mists flew upward, and dis-
 solv'd in day:

The Trojan chief appear'd in open
 fight,

August in visage, and serenely bright.
 Dryden.

455. *Their mighty chief return'd:]*
 We are in the next place to consider
 the infernal agents under the view
 which Milton has given us of them
 in this book. It is observed by those
 who would set forth the greatness
 of Virgil's plan, that he conducts
 his reader thro' all the parts of the
 earth which were discover'd in his
 time. Asia, Afric, and Europe are
 the several scenes of his fable. The
 plan of Milton's poem is of an in-
 finitely greater extent, and fills the
 mind with many more astonishing
 circumstances. Satan, having sur-
 rounded the earth seven times, de-
 parts at length from Paradise. We
 then see him steering his course
 among the constellations, and after
 having

Was left him, or false glitter: All amaz'd
 At that so sudden blaze the Stygian throng
 Bent their aspect, and whom they wish'd beheld,
 Their mighty chief return'd: loud was th' acclame:
 Forth rush'd in haste the great consulting peers, 456
 Rais'd from their dark Divan, and with like joy
 Congratulant approach'd him, who with hand
 Silence, and with these words attention won.

Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers,
 For

having traversed the whole creation, pursuing his voyage thro' the Chaos, and entering into his own infernal dominions. His first appearance in the assembly of fall'n Angels, is work'd up with circumstances which give a delightful surprise to the reader; but there is no incident in the whole poem which does this more than the transformation of the whole audience, that follows the account their leader gives them of his expedition. The gradual change of Satan himself is describ'd after Ovid's manner, and may vie with any of those celebrated transformations which are look'd upon as the most beautiful parts in that poet's works. Milton never fails of improving his own hints, and bestowing the last finishing touches to every incident which is admitted into his poem. The unexpected hiss which rises in this episode, the dimensions and bulk of Satan so much superior to those of the infernal Spirits who lay under the same transformation, with the

annual change which they are supposed to suffer, are instances of this kind. The beauty of the diction is very remarkable in this whole episode, as I have observed before the great judgment with which it was contriv'd. *Addison.*

457. *Rais'd from their dark Divan,*] The Devils are frequently described by metaphors taken from the Turks. Satan is called the *Sultan*, I. 348. as here the council is stiled the *Divan*. The said council is said to *sit in secret conclave*, I. 795. the Devil, the Turk and the Pope being commonly thought to be nearly related, and often join'd together.

460. *Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers,*] It is common with Homer to make use of the same verse several times, and especially at the beginning of his speeches; but I know not whether there is not more of simplicity in the practice than beauty. Our author however hath done the same with this line; but it is curious to observe
 R how

For in possession such, not only' of right, 461
 I call ye and declare ye now, return'd
 Successful beyond hope, to lead ye forth
 Triumphant out of this infernal pit
 Abominable, accurs'd, the house of woe, 465
 And dungeon of our tyrant: now possess,
 As Lords, a spacious world, to' our native Heaven
 Little inferior, by my adventure hard
 With peril great achiev'd. Long were to tell
 What I have done, what suffer'd, with what pain 470
 Voyag'd th' unreal, vast, unbounded deep
 Of horrible confusion, over which

By

how artfully he has manag'd it, and
 by repeating it every time gives new
 beauty to it. It is first made use of
 by God the Father, when he declares
 his Son the Messiah, and appoints
 him Head of the Angels. Book
 V. 600.

Hear all ye Angels, progeny of
 light,
 Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms,
 Virtues, Powers, &c.

Satan, after he had revolted and
 drawn his legions after him into the
 limits of the north, makes use of it
 again in allusion to the foregoing
 speech of God the Father, and ques-
 tions whether these magnific titles
 were not now become merely titu-
 lar, ver. 772.

Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms,
 Virtues, Powers,
 If these magnific titles yet remain
 Not merely titular &c.

The Seraph Abdiel on the other side
 repeats it likewise after God the
 Father, and extols his goodness in
 having so named the Angels, ver. 839.

Crown'd them with glory', and to
 their glory nam'd
 Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms,
 Virtues, Powers.

And now Satan addresses his Angels
 with it again; for now, says he, I
 may declare **ye such not only** of
 right, but in possession. So that the
 repetition of this line depends all
 along upon the first use of it, and
 gives a force and beauty to it, which
 it

By Sin and Death a broad way now is pav'd
To expedite your glorious march; but I
Toil'd out my uncouth passage, forc'd to ride 475
Th' untractable abyfs, plung'd in the womb
Of unoriginal Night and Chaos wild,
That jealous of their secrets fiercely' oppos'd
My journey strange, with clamorous uproar
Protesting Fate supreme; thence how I found 480
Thè new created world, which fame in Heaven
Long had foretold, a fabric wonderful
Of absolute perfection, therein Man
Plac'd in a Paradise, by our exile

Made

it would not have without the repetition.

475. *Toil'd out my uncouth passage,*
My strange unusual passage, of the
Saxon word unknown, *forc'd to ride*
th' untractable abyss, as in II. 540.
and ride the air. IX. 63. *he rode with*
darkness. Hor. Od. IV. IV. 44. *Per*
Siculas equitavit undas. We have
also in Scripture to *ride upon the*
winds, to *ride upon the clouds*, and
the like expressions. But the *toil*
was not only in *riding*, but riding an
untractable abyss.

480. *Protesting Fate supreme;*
Calling upon Fate as a witness
against my proceedings. But this
seems not perfectly to agree with the
account in book the second. It was
indeed with labor and difficulty that
Satan journey'd thro' Chaos, but we

do not read of Chaos and the other Powers *fiercely opposing him, or protesting Fate with clamorous uproar.* On the contrary Chaos bids him

— go and speed ;

Havoc, and spoil, and ruin are my
gain.

But Satan is here extolling his own performances, and perhaps the author did not intend, that the father of lies should keep strictly to truth.

480. — *thence how I found*] It is very wrong in Dr. Bentley to make here the beginning of a new period. It is the same sentence still continued, and refers to ver. 469. *Long were to tell &c.*

484. —by our *exile*] He constantly places the accent upon the last syllable in *exile*, as Spenser likewise does, R 2 Fairy

Made happy: Him by fraud I have seduc'd 485
 From his Creator, and the more to' increase
 Your wonder, with an apple; he thereat
 Offended, worth your laughter, hath giv'n up
 Both his beloved Man and all his world,
 To Sin and Death a prey, and so to us, 490
 Without our hazard, labor, or alarm,
 To range in, and to dwell, and over Man
 To rule, as over all he should have rul'd.
 True is, me also he hath judg'd, or rather
 Me not, but the brute serpent in whose shape 495
 Man I deceiv'd: that which to me belongs,
 Is enmity, which he will put between
 Me and mankind; I am to bruise his heel;
 His seed, when is not set, shall bruise my head:

A

Fairy Queen, B. 1. Cant. 3. St. 3.

Far from all people's praise, as in
exile;

but now it is commonly pronounc'd
 with the accent upon the first syllable,
 as in Pope's Epistle to Arbuthnot, ver. 355.

A friend in *exile*, or a father dead.

And there are several words whereof
 we have alter'd the pronunciation
 from that of our old writers, but
 whether we have alter'd it for the
 better, is a great question.

496. — *that which to me belongs,*] Cur author understands the sentence (as the most learned and orthodox divines do) as referring partly to Satan the author of malice, and partly to the Serpent the instrument of it.

513. — *till supplanted down be fell*] We may observe here a singular beauty and elegance in Milton's language, and that is his using words in their strict and literal sense, which are commonly apply'd to a metaphorical meaning, whereby he gives peculiar force to his expressions, and the literal meaning appears more
 new

A world who would not purchase with a bruise, 500
 Or much more grievous pain? Ye have th' account
 Of my performance: What remains, ye Gods,
 But up and enter now into full bliss?

So having said, a while he stood, expecting
 Their universal shout and high applause 505
 To fill his ear, when contrary he hears
 On all sides, from innumerable tongues
 A dismal universal hiss, the sound
 Of public scorn; he wonder'd, but not long
 Had leisure, wond'ring at himself now more; 510
 His visage drawn he felt to sharp and spare,
 His arms clung to his ribs, his legs intertwining
 Each other, till supplanted down he fell
 A monstrous serpent on his belly prone,

Re-

new and striking than the metaphor itself. We have an instance of this in the word *supplanted*, which is deriv'd from the Latin *supplanto*, to trip up one's heels or overthrow, a *planta pedis subtus emota*; and there are abundance of other examples in several parts of this work, but let it suffice to have taken notice of it here once for all.

514. *A monstrous serpent on his belly prone.*] Our author, in describing Satan's transformation into a serpent, had no doubt in mind the transformation of Cadmus in the

fourth book of the *Metamorphosis*, to which he had alluded before in Book IX. 505. And as several particulars are alike in both, it may be agreeable to the reader to compare both together. *Ov. Met. IV. 575. &c.*

Dixit, et ut serpens in longam tenditur alvum;

In pectusque cadit pronus; commissaque in unum

Paulatim tereti sinuantur acumine crura——

Ille quidem vult plura loqui; sed lingua repente

R 3

In

Reluctant, but in vain, a greater power 515
 Now rul'd him, punish'd in the shape he sinn'd
 According to his doom: he would have spoke,
 But his for his return'd with forked tongue
 To forked tongue, for now were all transform'd
 Alike, to serpents all as accessories, 520

To

In partes est fissa duas: nec verba
 volenti
 Sufficiunt; quotiesque aliquos parat
 edere questus,
 Sibilat; hanc illi vocem Natura
 relinquit.

But there is something much more
 astonishing in Milton than in Ovid;
 for there only Cadmus and his wife
 are chang'd into serpents, but here
 myriads of Angels are transform'd
 all together.

524. — *Amphisbæna* dire, &c.]
Amphisbæna said to have a head at
 both ends, so named of *αμοι* and
βαινα, because it went forward either
 way. *Ceraſtes* horn'd, of *κερας* a
 horn. *Hydrus*, the water-snake, of
υδωρ water. *Elops drear*, a dumb
 serpent that gives no notice by
 hissing to avoid him, *drear* sad, dread-
 ful. *Dipsas* of *διψα* thirst, because
 those it itung were tormented with
 unquenchable thirst.

Hume and Richardson.

These and several verses which follow
 Dr. Bentley throws quite away. He
 dislikes Milton's reckoning *Scorpion*,
 and *Asp*, among the serpents, and
 thinks them rather insects; But Pliny
 VIII. 23. numbers the *Asp* among
 the serpents; and Nicander in his

Theriac. gives both the *Scorpion* and
Asp that title: so does Lucan, from
 whom our poet seems to have taken
 his catalogue of serpents; for in
 Book IX. of his *Pharsalia*, he gives
 us the names of all these serpents
 mention'd by Milton except the *Elops*.
 But what is the *Elops*? Dr. Bentley
 says that the editor has here dis-
 cover'd himself to be an ignorant
 fellow, the *Elops* being no *serpent* but
 a fish, and one of the most admir'd
 too, the *Acipenser*. But Pliny (from
 whom the Doctor learn'd this) only
 says of the *Acipenser*, that some
 people call it *Elops*; *quidam eum*
Eloperem vocant, IX. 17. he does not
 tell us whether he thought that they
 call'd it by a right name or no. But
 if they did, might there not have
 been a serpent of that name too?
 That there was, we have Pliny's
 own testimony in XXXII. 5. where
 he tells us of the remedies to be
 used by those who were bit by the
Elops and other serpents, *α Chalcide*,
Ceraſte, aut quas *Sepas* vocant, aut
Elope, *Dipsadeve* percussis. Nicander
 too in his *Theriac.* mentions the
Elops, *της Ελοπας, Λιθναστε* &c.
 After these authorities I hope that
 the Doctor will allow Milton to men-
 tion the *Elops*, as a serpent, without
 making

To his bold riot: dreadful was the din
 Of hissing through the hall, thick swarming now
 With complicated monsters head and tail,
 Scorpion, and Asp, and Amphisbæna dire,
 Ceraustes horn'd, Hydrus, and Elops drear, 525
 And Dipsas (not so thick swarm'd once the soil

Be-

making this an article against the
 genuineness of the passage. *Pearce.*

526. ——— the soil

Bedropt with blood of Gorgon,] Ly-
 bia, which therefore abounded so
 with serpents, as Ovid says, *Met.*
IV. 616.

Cumque super Libycas victor pen-
 deret arenas,
 Gorgonei capitis guttæ cecidere
 cruentæ ;
 Quas humus exceptas varios ani-
 mavit in angues ;
 Unde frequens illa est infestaque
 terra colubris.

The victor Perseus with the Gorgon
 head,
 O'er Libyan sands his aery journey
 sped.
 The gory drops distill'd, as swift
 he flew,
 And from each drop envenom'd
 serpents grew
 The mischiefs brooded on the bar-
 ren plains,
 And still th' unhappy fruitfulness
 remains. *Eusden.*

And Lucan gives the same account
Phar. IX 696. and there mentions
 most of the serpents, which are here
 mention'd by Milton.

*Illa tamen sterilis tellus, fecunda-
 que nulli
 Arva bono, virus stillantis tabe Me-
 dusæ
 Conciunt, dirosque fero de san-
 guine rores,
 Quos calor adjuvit, putrique in-
 coxit arenæ.*

*Hic quæ prima caput movit de pul-
 vere tabes,
 Aspida somniferam tumida cervice
 levavit: —*

— spinæque vagi torquente *Ce-
 rastæ: —*

— et torrida *Dipsas:*

*Et gravis in gremium surgens caput
 Amphisbæna:
 Et Natrrix violator aquæ.*

Yet could this soil accurs'd, this
 barren field,
 Increase of death, and pois'nous
 harvests yield.

Where'er sublime in air the victor
 flew,
 The monster's head distill'd a
 deadly dew ;
 The earth receiv'd the seed, and
 pregnant grew.

Still as the patrid gore dropt on
 the sand,

'Twas temper'd up by Nature's
 forming hand ;

R 4

The

Bedropt with blood of Gorgon, or the ile
 Ophiusa) but still greatest he the midst,
 Now Dragon grown, larger than whom the fun
 Ingender'd in the Pythian vale on slime, 530
 Huge Python, and his pow'r no less he seem'd
 Above the rest still to retain; they all
 Him follow'd issuing forth to th' open field,
 Where all yet left of that revolted rout
 Heav'n-fall'n, in station stood or just array, 535
 Sublime with expectation when to see
 In triumph issuing forth their glorious chief;
 They saw, but other sight instead, a croud
 Of ugly serpents; horror on them fell,

And

The glowing climate makes the
 work compleat,
 And broods upon the mass, and
 lends it genial heat.
 First of those plagues the drousy
Asp appear'd,
 Then first her crest, and smelling
 neck she rear'd —
 The *Swimmer* there the crystal
 stream pollutes;
 — and there the *Dipsas* burns;
 The *Amphisbæna* doubly arm'd ap-
 pears,
 At either end a threatening head she
 rears. Rowe.

528. *Ophiusa*] A small island in
 the Mediterranean, so call'd by the

Greeks, and by the Latins *Colubra-
 ria*; the inhabitants quitted it for
 fear of being devour'd by serpents.

Hume and Richardson.

529. *Now Dragon grown,*] In the
 same place, where Lucan gives an
 account of the various serpents of
 Libya, he describes the *Dragon* as
 the greatest and most terrible of them
 all: And our author, who copies
 him in the rest, very rightly attri-
 butes this form to Satan, and espe-
 cially since he is call'd in Scripture
the great Dragon, Rev. XII. 9. He
 may well be said to be larger than
 the fabulous *Python*, that was inge-
 der'd of the slime after the Deuca-
 lion Deluge, in the *Pythian vale*
 near

And horrid sympathy; for what they saw, 540
 They felt themselves now changing; down their arms,
 Down fell both spear and shield, down they as fast,
 And the dire hiss renew'd, and the dire form
 Catch'd by contagion, like in punishment,
 As in their crime. Thus was th' applause they meant,
 Turn'd to exploding hiss, triumph to shame 546
 Cast on themselves from their own mouths. There stood
 A grove hard by, sprung up with this their change,
 His will who reigns above, to aggravate
 Their penance, laden with fair fruit, like that 550
 Which grew in Paradise, the bait of Eve
 Us'd by the Tempter: on that prospect strange

Their

near Pythia a city of Greece. See the description of this monster, Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, l. 438.

— Te quoque, maxime Python,
 Tum genuit; populisque novis, in-
 cognite serpens,
 Terror eras: tantum spatii de monte
 tenebas.

— And then she brought to light
 Thee Python too, the wond'ring
 world to fright,
 And the new nations with so dire
 a fight.

So monstrous was his bulk, so large
 a space
 Did his vast body and long train
 embrace. Dryden.

550. *Their penance, laden with fair fruit, like that*] This is the verse in the first edition; in the second *fair* was by mistake omitted, which left the verse imperfect,

Their penance, laden with fruit,
 like that

but yet this is follow'd in some editions, though others have it thus,

Their penance, laden with fruit,
 like to that.

Mr. Fenton (I know not for what reason) has *patience* in his edition instead of *penance*. We have continued Milton's own reading.

560. *That*

Their earnest eyes they fix'd, imagining
 For one forbidden tree a multitude
 Now ris'n, to work them further woe or shame; 555
 Yet parch'd with scalding thirst and hunger fierce,
 Though to delude them sent, could not abstain,
 But on they roll'd in heaps, and up the trees
 Climbing, fat thicker than the snaky locks
 That curl'd Megæra: greedily they pluck'd 560
 The fruitage fair to sight, like that which grew
 Near that bituminous lake where Sodom flam'd;
 This more delusive, not the touch, but taste

Deceiv'd;

560. *That curl'd Megæra:*] She was one of the Furies, whose hair was serpents, as Medusa's;

— crinita draconibus ora.

Ov. Met. IV. 771.

Richardson.

562. *Near that bituminous lake where Sodom flam'd;*] The lake Asphaltites near which Sodom and Gomorrah were situated. Josephus affirms, the shapes and fashions of them and three other cities, called *the cities of the plain*, were to be seen in his days, and trees loaden with fair fruit (stiled the *apples of Sodom*) rising out of the ashes, which at the first touch dissolved into ashes and smoke. B. 4. of the Wars of the Jews, c. 8. But this fair fruitage was more deceitful and disappointing than Sodom's cheating apples, which only deceiv'd the touch, by

dissolving into ashes; but this indur'd the handling, the more to vex and disappoint their taste, by filling the mouths of the damned with grating cinders and bitter ashes, instead of allaying their scorching thirst provoking and inflaming it: so handsomely has our author improved their punishment. Hume.

568. — *drug'd*] It is a metaphor taken from the general nauseousness of drugs, when they are taken by way of medicine. Pearce.

Phyic'd, tormented with the hateful taste usually found in drugs

Richardson.

569. *With hatefullest dislike writh'd their jaws*] Virg. Georg. II. 246.

— et ora

Tristia tentantum sensu torquebit amaror.

The

Deceiv'd; they fondly thinking to allay
 Their appetite with gust, instead of fruit 565
 Chew'd bitter ashes, which th' offended taste
 With spattering noise rejected: oft they' assay'd,
 Hunger and thirst constraining, drug'd as oft,
 With hatefullest disrelish writh'd their jaws
 With foot and cinders fill'd; so oft they fell 570
 Into the same illusion, not as Man [plagu'd
 Whom they triumph'd once laps'd. Thus were they
 And worn with famin, long and ceaseless hiss,
 Till their lost shape, permitted, they resum'd,
 Yearly

The sound of Virgil's words admirably expresses the thing; nor are Milton's less expressive in this line, and that foregoing,

— which th' offended taste
 With spattering noise rejected.

572: *Whom they triumph'd once laps'd.*] Is the construction thus; *Not as Man whom they triumph'd over, once laps'd*, semel lapsus est: Or thus rather, Quo semel lapsus triumpharunt, *Whom being once laps'd they triumph'd*? Mr. Fenton's pointing would lead one to the former sense, but Milton's own will rather determin one to the latter; and thus Dr. Trapp translates it,

Non ut homo; quo, egere, semel,
 labente, triumphos.

The antithesis is between *so oft they fell* and *once laps'd*; and as *so oft they*

fell are the first words of the sentence, *once laps'd* is very artfully thrown to the end.

573. *And worn with famin, long and ceaseless hiss,*] Dr. Bentley reads,

With *thirst* and famin *dire*, and
 ceaseless hiss.

Worn (he says) is flat and low, after *plagu'd*; but *plagu'd* in the metaphorical sense is only vex'd and tormented; an idea below that of *worn* or wasted away. He asks, why *thirst* is omitted, though mention'd before, and less tolerable than *famin*? it is, because famin more properly, at least sooner and more visibly, wears men away than thirst.

Pearce.

The greatest objection to this line is the want of a conjunction between
with

Yearly injoin'd, some say, to undergo 575
 This annual humbling certain number'd days,
 To dash their pride, and joy for Man seduc'd.
 However some tradition they dispers'd
 Among the Heathen of their purchase got,
 And fabled how the Serpent, whom they call'd 580
 Ophion with Eurynome, the wide

En-

with famin and long and ceaseless his;
 but that might be remedied thus,

And worn with famin, and long
 ceaseless his:

Or thus,

And worn with famin long, and
 ceaseless his.

575. — *some say,*] I know not,
 or cannot recollect, from what au-
 thor or what tradition Milton hath
 borrow'd this notion. Mr. War-
 burton believes that he took the hint
 from the old romances of which he
 was a great reader; where it is very
 common to meet with these annual,
 or monthly, or weekly penances of
 men changed into animals: but the
 words *some say* seem to imply that
 he has some express authority for it,
 and what approaches nearest to it is
 the speech of the faery Manto in
 Ariosto, Cant. 43. St. 98.

Ch' ogni settimo giorno ogn' una
 è certa,

Che la sua forma in biscia si con-
 verta.

Each sev'nth day we constrained
 are to take

Upon ourselves the person of a
 snake, &c. Harrington.

580. *And fabled how the Serpent, &c.*] Dr. Bentley is for rejecting this whole passage: but our author is endeavoring to show, that there was some tradition, among the Heathen, of the great power that Satan had obtain'd over mankind. And this he proves by what is related of *Ophion with Eurynome*. *Ophion with Eurynome*, he says, *had first the rule of high Olympus*, and were driven thence by Saturn and Ops or Rhea, ere yet their son *Dicæan*. *Jove was born*, so call'd from Dicte a mountain of Crete where he was educated. And Milton seems to have taken this story from Apollonius Rhodius, Argonaut. I. 503.

Ἡδέν δ' ὡς πρῶτον Οὔριον Εὐ-
 ρυνομντε

Ὠκεανὶς νιφροῖν ἔχον κρατὶ
 εὐρυμποιο.

Ὡς βίη καὶ χερσίν, ὃ μὲν Κροτῶ
 εἰκαθε τιμῆς,

Ἡ δὲ Ρέη' ἐπέσον δ' ἐνὶ κυμασίν
 Ὠκεανοιο.

οἱ δὲ τῶς μακαρεσσι θεοῖς τίτη-
 σιν ἀνασσειν

ΟΡΡε

Encroaching Eve perhaps, had first the rule
Of high Olympus, thence by Saturn driven
And Ops, ere yet Dictæan Jove was born.

Mean while in Paradise the hellish pair 585
Too soon arriv'd, Sin there in pow'r before,
Once actual, now in body, and to dwell
Habitual habitant; behind her Death

Close

Οφρα Ζεὺς ἐπὶ κερῶ ἐπὶ φρεσὶ
νῆπια εἰδώς
Δικταίον ναιέσκειν ὑπὸ σπείος.

Now *Ophion* according to the Greek etymology signifies *a Serpent*, and therefore Milton conceives that by *Ophion* the *old Serpent* might be intended, *the Serpent whom they call'd Ophion*: and *Eurynome* signifying *wide-ruling*, he says but says doubtfully, that she might be *the wide encroaching Eve perhaps*. For I understand *the wide encroaching* not as an epithet to *Eurynome*, explaining her name, but as an epithet to *Eve*, Milton having placed the comma after *Eurynome*, and not after *the wide-encroaching*. And besides some epithet should be added to *Eve* to show the similitude between her and *Eurynome*, and why he takes the one for the other; and therefore in allusion to the name of *Eurynome* he styles *Eve the wide-encroaching*, as extending her rule and dominion farther than she should over her husband, and affecting Godhead. This explanation may be farther confirm'd and illustrated by the following note of the learned Mr. Jortin. "Milton

" took this story from Apollonius I.
" who is quoted by Lloyd's Dictio-
" nary, under the word *Ophion*. Pro-
" metheus in *Æschylus*, ver. 956.
" says that two Gods had borne rule
" before Jupiter: where the Scho-
" liast; ἑξάοικλευσε πρῶτον μὲν ὁ
" Οφίων καὶ Εὐρυνομή. εἰτετα
" Κρονὸς καὶ Περσέ' μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ
" ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ Ἡρᾶ. Others will
" have it that *Οὐρανὸς* and *Γη*
" reigned first. I think the epithet
" *wide-encroaching* belongs to *Eve*
" not to *Eurynome*. He calls *Eve*
" *wide-encroaching*, because, as he
" tells us, she wanted to be superior
" to her husband, to be a Goddess
" &c."

586. — *Sin there in pow'r before,*
Once actual, now in body, and to dwell
Habitual habitant;] The sense is,
That before the fall Sin was *in pow'r*,
or potentially, in Paradise; that *once*
viz. upon the fall, it was actually
there, tho' not bodily; but that
now, upon its arrival in Paradise, it
was there *in body*, and dwelt as a
constant inhabitant. The words *in*
body allude to what St. Paul says
Rom. VI. 6. *that the body of sin*
might be destroy'd. Pearce.

590. On

Cloſe following pace for pace, not mounted yet
On his pale horſe: to whom Sin thus began. 590

Second of Satan ſprung, all conqu'ring Death,
What think'ſt thou of our empire now, though earn'd
With travel difficult, not better far

Than ſtill at Hell's dark threshold to' have ſat watch,
Unnam'd, undreaded, and thyſelf half ſtarv'd? 595

Whom thus the Sin-born monſter answer'd ſoon.
To me, who with eternal famiſh pine,
Alike is Hell, or Paradife, or Heaven,
There beſt, where moſt with ravin I may meet;
Which here, though plenteous, all too little ſeems 600
To ſtuff this maw, this vaſt unhide-bound corps.

To whom th' inceſtuous mother thus reply'd.

Thou

590. *On his pale horſe:]* Tho' the author in the whole courſe of his poem, and particularly in the book we are now examining, has infinite alluſions to places of Scripture, I have only taken notice in my remarks of ſuch as are of a poetical nature, and which are woven with great beauty into the body of his fable. Of this kind is that paſſage in the preſent book, where deſcribing Sin and Death as marching through the works of Nature, he adds,

———— behind her Death
Cloſe following pace for pace, not
mounted yet
On his pale horſe: —

Which alludes to that paſſage in Scripture, ſo wonderfully poetical, and terrifying to the imagination, Rev. VI. 8. *And I looked and behold a pale horſe; and his name that ſat on him was Death, and Hell followed with him: and power was given unto them, over the fourth part of the earth, to kill with ſword, and with hunger, and with death, and with the beaſts of the earth.* Addiſon.

601.—*this vaſt unhide-bound corps.]* It is ſtrange how Dr. Bentley and others have puzzled this paſſage. The meaning is plain enough. For Death though lean is yet deſcrib'd as a vaſt monſter in Book II. And his ſkin was

Thou therefore on these herbs, and fruits, and flowers
 Feed first, on each beast next, and fish, and fowl,
 No homely morsels; and whatever thing 605
 The fithe of Time mowes down, devour unspar'd;
 Till I in Man residing through the race,
 His thoughts, his looks, words, actions all infect,
 And season him thy last and sweetest prey.

This said, they both betook them several ways, 610
 Both to destroy, or unimmortal make
 All kinds, and for destruction to mature
 Sooner or later; which th' Almighty seeing,
 From his transcendent seat the Saints among,
 To those bright Orders utter'd thus his voice. 615

See with what heat these dogs of Hell advance

To

was not tight-brac'd, and did not look sleek and smooth, as when creatures are swoln and full; but hung loose about him, and was capable of containing a great deal without being distended.

616. *See with what heat these dogs of hell advance &c.*] Upon the arrival of Sin and Death into the works of the creation, the Almighty is again introduced as speaking to his Angels that surrounded him.

Addison.

We may be certain I think that Milton had his eye upon this passage in Sophocles, *Electra*. 1385.

Ιδεῖθ' ὅτε προνομεταί
 Το δυσσεύειον αἶμα φύσων ἀρης·
 Βεβασί δ' ἀστὶ δωματῶν ὑπο-
 σεγοί
 Μεταδρομοὶ κακῶν πανεργημά-
 των,
 Ἀφύκτοί κυνές.

Or as Mr. Lauder will have it, he had Masenius in view,

Infernique canes populantur cuncta creata.

And may we not suppose that he alluded too to the following passage in Shakespear's *Julius Cæsar*? Act III.

And

To waste and havoc yonder world, which I
 So fair and good created, and had still
 Kept in that state, had not the folly' of Man
 Let in these wasteful furies, who impute 620
 Folly to me, so doth the prince of Hell
 And his adherents, that with so much ease
 I suffer them to enter and possess
 A place so heav'nly, and conniving seem
 To gratify my scornful enemies, 625
 That laugh, as if transported with some fit
 Of passion, I to them had quitted all,
 At random yielded up to their misrule;
 And know not that I call'd and drew them thither
 My

And Cæsar's Spirit, ranging for re-
 venge,
 With Atè by his side come hot from
 Hell,
 Shall in these confines, with a mo-
 narch's voice,
 Cry Havoc, and let slip the dogs
 of war.

Homer often puts such language into
 the mouth of his Gods and heroes,
 and there are some such expressions
 in Scripture. *For dogs have compassed*
me Psal. XXII. 16. *They are greedy*
dogs. Isa. LVI. 11. *Beware of dogs.*
 Phil. III. 2. *Without are dogs.* Rev.
 XXII. 15. Thus far perhaps our
 author may be justify'd, but in some
 other parts of this speech the meta-
 phors are wonderfully coarse indeed,

and seem to be beneath the dignity
 of an epic poem, and much more
 unbecoming the majesty of the divine
 Speaker; unless they may be vin-
 dicated by the following passage in
 Scripture, which is express'd by the
 Son of God himself. Rev. III. 16. *I*
will spue thee out of my mouth. The
 foregoing quotation from Shake-
 spear,

Cry Havoc, and let slip the dogs
 of war,

Mr. Warburton thinks much hap-
 pier (as indeed it is) than this passage
 in our author, because *havoc* was
 formerly the cry made use of when
 the irregulars in an army destroy'd
 all before them with fire and sword.
 When Henry V. made his expedition
 into

My Hell-hounds, to lick up the draff and filth 630
Which Man's polluting sin with taint hath shed
On what was pure, till cramm'd and gorg'd, nigh
burst

With suck'd and glutted offal, at one sling
Of thy victorious arm, well-pleasing Son,
Both Sin, and Death, and yawning Grave at last 635
Through Chaos hurl'd, obstruct the mouth of Hell
For ever, and seal up his ravenous jaws.

Then Heav'n and Earth renew'd shall be made pure
To sanctity that shall receive no stain :

Till then the curse pronounc'd on both precedes. 640

He ended, and the heav'nly audience loud

Sung

into France, he had rules and orders of war drawn up (a copy of which is in Lincoln's Inn library) where there is one chapter denouncing the punishment on those who cry *Havoc*.

635. *Both Sin, and Death, and yawning Grave at last*] Death and the Grave meaning the same is a *pleonasm*, an abounding fulness of expression, which adding force and energy, and calling forth the attention, is a beauty common in the best writers : but not for that reason only Milton has used this; the Scripture hath thus join'd Death and the Grave, Hof. XIII. 14. 1 Cor. XV. 55. and Rev. XX. 13. where the word render'd Hell signifies also the Grave. *Richardson.*

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640. *Till then the curse pronounc'd on both precedes.*] *On both*, that is on *Heav'n and Earth* mention'd in ver. 638, the Heaven and Earth that were polluted, and *shall be made pure to sanctity*. But should we read *precedes*, or *proceeds* with Dr. Bentley? And is the meaning (as Mr. Richardson explains it) that the curse pronounc'd shall go before those ravagers Sin and Death, and shall direct and lead them on? Or the curse shall *proceed*, shall go on, shall continue till the consummation of all things, and Heaven and Earth shall be restor'd?

641. *He ended, and the heav'nly audience loud*

Sung Halleluiah,] Dr. Bentley reads

S

and

Sung Halleluiah, as the sound of seas,
 Through multitude that sung: Just are thy ways,
 Righteous are thy decrees on all thy works;
 Who can extenuate thee? Next, to the Son, 645
 Destin'd restorer of mankind, by whom
 New Heav'n and Earth shall to the ages rise,
 Or down from Heav'n descend. Such was their song,
 While

and to him the audience loud &c; without this (says he) it is not said to whom they sung; and the words Next, to the Son, ver. 645. show that they sung before to him, to the Father. But this objection is founded upon the Doctor's not observing the force of the word Halleluiah, where Jah signifies to God, the Father; and therefore there was no need of to him. See VII. 634. Pearce.

642. — *as the sound of seas, Through multitude that sung:]* This passage is formed upon that glorious image in holy Writ, which compares the voice of an innumerable host of Angels, uttering Halleluiahs, to the voice of mighty thunderings or of many waters. Addison.

643. — *Just are thy ways, Righteous are thy decrees]* The same song that they are represented singing in the Revelation. *Just and true are thy ways, thou King of Saints,* Rev. XV. 3. *True and righteous are thy judgments,* Rev. XVI. 7. As in the foregoing passage he alluded to Rev. XIX. 6. *And I heard as it were the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, saying, Halleluiah.*

647. *New Heav'n and Earth shall to the ages rise,*

Or down from Heav'n descend.] Heaven and Earth is the Jewish phrase to express our world; and the *new Heav'n and Earth* must certainly be the same with that mention'd just before,

Then Heav'n and Earth renew'd shall be made pure To sanctity that shall receive no stain:

And they shall to the ages rise, to the Millennium, to the aurea sæcula, as they are call'd, or to ages of endless date, as he elsewhere expresses it, XII. 549.

New Heav'ns, new Earth, ages of endless date, Founded in righteousness, and peace, and love.

Shall rise, for sometimes he speaks of them as rais'd from the conflagrant mass, XII. 547. And springing from the ashes, III. 334. Or down from Heav'n descend, for St. John describes the holy city, the new Jerusalem, Rev. XXI. 2. as coming down from God out of Heaven.

650. — *gave them several charge,]* Under this head of celestial persons

While the Creator calling forth by name
 His mighty Angels gave them several charge, 650
 As sort'd best with present things. The sun
 Had first his precept so to move, so shine,
 As might affect the earth with cold and heat
 Scarce tolerable, and from the north to call
 Decrepit winter, from the south to bring 655
 Solstitial

we must likewise take notice of the command which the Angels receiv'd, to produce the several changes in nature, and fully the beauty of the creation. Accordingly they are represented as infecting the stars and planets with malignant influences, weakning the light of the sun, bringing down the winter into the milder regions of nature, planting winds and storms in several quarters of the sky, storing the clouds with thunder, and in short perverting the whole frame of the universe to the condition of its criminal inhabitants. As this is a noble incident in the poem, the following lines, in which we see the Angels heaving up the earth, and placing it in a different posture to the sun from what it had before the fall of Man, is conceiv'd with that sublime imagination which was so peculiar to this great author.

Some say he bid his Angels turn
 ascanse &c. Addison.

655. *Decrepit winter,*] Alluding perhaps to Spenser's description of winter under the figure of a decrepit old man, Fairy Queen, B. 7. Cant. 7. St. 31.

In his right hand a tipped staff he held,

With which his feeble steps he stay'd still:

For he was faint with cold, and weak with eld,

That scarce his loos'd limbs he able was to weld. *Thyer*

The expression of *decrepit winter* occurs in Beaumont and Fletcher. A Wife for a Month. Act IV.

Decrepit winter hang upon my shoulders.

655. — *from the south to bring Solstitial summer's heat.*] Have a care (says Dr. Bentley) of going too far *south* to bring *summer's heat*, the regions near the southern pole being as cold as those near the northern: he therefore reads

— from the *torrid zone*

Solstitial summer's heat.

But the word *Solstitial* seem sufficiently to determin, from how far south Milton meant that this *summer's heat* was brought, viz. so far from the south as the sun is, when he is in the summer's *solstice*, or about 23 degrees and a half southward.

Pearce.

The ancient poets represent the south as the region of heat. Statius. Thebaid. I. 160.

S 2

— aut

Solstitial summer's heat. To the blanc moon
 Her office they prescrib'd, to th' other five
 Their planetary motions and aspects
 In sextile, square, and trine, and opposit
 Of noxious efficacy, and when to join
 In synod unbenign; and taught the fix'd
 Their influence malignant when to shower,

660

Which

— aut Boreâ gelidas, madidive
 tepentes
 Igne noti.

Lucan I. 54. very extravagantly,

Nec polus averfi calidus qua ver-
 gitur austri. *Fortin.*

656. *To the blanc moon &c.*] Of the French *blanc*, white, as Virgil calls her *candida luna*, *Æn.* VII. 8. and the Italian poets frequently *bianca luna*. And what is said here of the moon, and of the stars, *Which of them rising with the sun, or falling, should prove tempestuous*, was written probably not without an eye to Virgil *Georg.* I. 335.

Hoc metuens cœli menses et fidera
 serva,

Frigida Saturni sese quo stella re-
 ceptet,

Quos ignis cœli Cyllenius erret in
 orbes. —

Ipsè pater statuit quid menstrua luna
 moneret,

Quo signo caderent austri.

In fear of this observe the starry
 signs,

Where Satan houses, and where
 Hermes joins. —

The Sov'reign of the Heav'ns has
 set on high

The moon, to mark the changes of
 the sky,

When southern blasts should cease.

Dryden.

659. *In sextile, square, and trine,
 and opposit*] If a planet, in

one part of the zodiac, be distant from another by a *sixth* part of twelve, that is by two signs, their *aspect* is called *sextile*; if by a *fourth*, *square*; by a *third*, *trine*; and if by one half, *opposit*, which last is said to be of *noxious efficacy*, because the planets so oppos'd are thought to strive, debilitate, and overcome one another; deemed of evil consequence to those born under or subject to the influence of the distressed star. *Hume.* If an unnecessary ostentation of learning be, as Mr. Addison observes, one of our author's faults, it certainly must be an aggravation of it, where he not only introduces, but countenances such enthusiastic unphilosophical notions as this jargon of the astrologers is made up of. *Thyer.*

664. — *To the winds they set &c.*] Thus the first editions, and I think all others before Dr. Bentley's appear'd:

Which of them rising with the sun, or falling,
 Should prove tempestuous: To the winds they set
 Their corners, when with bluster to confound 665
 Sea, air, and shore, the thunder when to roll
 With terror through the dark aerial hall.
 Some say he bid his Angels turn ascanse
 The poles of earth twice ten degrees and more

From

pear'd: and they give the true reading, whereas he would read,

— To the winds they gave
 Their orders, when with bluster to confound

Sea, air, and shore: To thunder
 when to roll

With terror through the wide aerial
 hall.

Let us hear his reasons for altering the text. The *winds* (says he) as distinguish'd from one another, had their *corners* and quarters set before the fall: but this assertion is directly contrary to what Milton tells us in ver. 695, &c. He asks what is meant by *their corners*, when *with bluster to confound*? But the sentence is to be thus supply'd, *set their corners*, and taught them *when with bluster* &c: and the same ellipsis we have in ver. 660. Or if this should not be approv'd of, I had much rather read (as the Doctor proposes) *set their corners*, whence *with bluster to confound*—the thunder whence to roll. It may be wonder'd at, how the Doctor came in the next verse to change the *thunder when to roll*, into, *To thunder, when to roll*; since *roll* is plainly an active verb here, and *thunder* is

the accusative case after it: As little reason has he to change *dark* in the last verse into *wide*; for since he allows that the *aereal hall* or sky is *darken'd* by the clouds that attend and cause *thunder*, the sky may as well be said in poetry to be then *dark*, as *darken'd*. Pearce.

668. *Some say he bid his Angels &c.*] It was *eternal spring* (IV. 268.) before the fall; and he is now accounting for the change of seasons after the fall, and mentions the two famous hypotheses. *Some say* it was occasion'd by altering the position of the earth, by turning the poles of the earth above 20 degrees aside from the sun's orb, *he bid his Angels turn ascanse the poles of earth twice ten degrees and more from the sun's axle*; and the poles of the earth are about 23 degrees and a half distant from those of the ecliptic; *they with labor push'd oblique the centric globe*, it was erect before, but is *oblique* now; the *obliquity* of a sphere is the proper astronomical term, when the pole is raised any number of degrees less than 90; *the centric globe fix'd on its center and therefore moved with labor and difficulty*, or rather

From the sun's axle ; they with labor push'd 670
 Oblique the centric globe : Some say the sun
 Was bid turn reins from th' equinoctial road
 Like distant breadth to Taurus with the seven
 Atlantic Sisters, and the Spartan Twins
 Up to the Tropic Crab ; thence down amain 675
 By Leo and the Virgin and the Scales,
 As deep as Capricorn, to bring in change
 Of seasons to each clime ; else had the spring
 Perpetual smil'd on earth with vernant flowers,
 Equal

centric as being the center of the world, according to the Ptolemaic system, which our author usually follows. *Some say* again this change was occasion'd by altering the course of the sun, *the sun was bid turn reins from the equinoctial road* in which he had moved before, *like distant breadth* in both hemispheres, *to Taurus with the seven Atlantic Sisters*, the constellation Taurus with the seven stars in his neck, the Pleiades daughters of Atlas, *and the Spartan twins*, the sign Gemini, Castor and Pollux, twin-brothers, and sons of Tyndarus king of Sparta, *up to the Tropic Crab*, the tropic of Cancer, the sun's farthest stage northwards ; *thence down amain*, Dr. Bentley reads *as much*, as much on one side of the equator as the other, but if any alteration were necessary it is easier to read *thence down again*, by *Leo and the Virgin*, the sign Virgo, *and the Scales*, the constellation Libra,

as deep as Capricorn, the tropic of Capricorn, which is the sun's farthest progress southwards. This motion of the sun in the ecliptic occasions the variety of seasons, *else had the spring perpetual smil'd on earth with vernant flowers*, if the sun had continued to move in the equator. It is likewise Dr. Burnet's assertion, that the primitive earth enjoy'd a perpetual spring, and for the same reason of the sun's moving in the equator. But though this notion of a perpetual spring may be very pleasing in poetry, yet it is very false in philosophy ; and this position of the earth so far from being the best is one of the worst it could have, as Dr. Keill hath prov'd excellently well in the fourth chapter of his *Examination of Dr. Burnet's Theory of the Earth*.

673. — *to Taurus*] Dr. Bentley reads *through Taurus*, through it and Gemini, *up to Cancer*. And Mr.

Equal in days and nights, except to those 680
 Beyond the polar circles ; to them day
 Had unbenighted shone, while the low sun
 To recompense his distance, in their fight
 Had rounded still th' horizon, and not known
 Or east or west, which had forbid the snow 685
 From cold Estotiland, and south as far
 Beneath Magellan. At that tasted fruit
 The sun, as from Thyéstean banquet, turn'd
 His course intended ; else how had the world

In-

Mr. Pope approves this emendation, and it seems probable, *through Taurus* and *By Leo* afterwards answering to each other.

686. — *Estotiland*,] A great tract of land in the north of America, towards the Arctic Circle and Hudson's Bay ; as *Magellan* is a country in south America, which together with its straits took their name of Ferdinandus Magellanus a Portuguese, who in the year 1520 first discover'd them. *Hume.*

687. — *At that tasted fruit*

The sun, as from Thyéstean banquet turn'd &c.] Dr. Bentley says that *Thyéstean* for *Thyestéan* is intolerable : but I have shown that Milton used *Ægean* for *Ægéan*, in my note on I. 745. and so our poet in his *Samson Agonistes*, ver. 133. uses *Chalybean* for *Chalybéan*. Instances of such a poetical liberty may be found in the best ancient poets as well as in the modern ones. *Pearce.*

Thyestes and Atreus brethren hated each other outrageously ; the first in spite lay with the wife of Atreus, but he having gotten his brother's children in his power pretended a desire of reconciliation, and invited him to a banquet. Thyestes, that he might see his children, dissembling his augmented malice, came ; the feast being over, his brother let him know he had been entertain'd with the flesh of his sons, and their blood mix'd with the wine, and show'd him the sad proof of what he had told him, their heads and hands which he had reserved for that purpose. At this the sun is said to have turn'd away, as Milton here says he did when the more dreadful banquet was made on the fruit of the forbidden tree. *Richardson.*

We may farther observe that it is called the *Thyestean banquet*, though made not by him, but only for him ; and Euripides in like manner calls
 S 4 it

Inhabited, though finless, more than now, 690
 Avoided pinching cold and scorching heat?
 These changes in the Heav'ns, though slow, produc'd
 Like change on sea and land, fideral blast,
 Vapor, and mist, and exhalation hot,
 Corrupt and pestilent: Now from the north 695
 Of Norumbega, and the Samoed shore,
 Bursting their brazen dungeon, arm'd with ice
 And snow and hail and stormy gust and flaw,
 Boreas and Cæcias and Argestes loud
 And Thrafcias rend the woods and seas upturn; 700
 With

it *ἑρπυλὸς θυεστῆς*. Orest. 1010. and Horace *cæna Thyestæ*. De Art. Poet. 91. and Mr. Pope would read here 'Thyestes'.

696. Of Norumbega, and the Samoed shore,] *Norumbega* a province of the northern America. *Samoieda*, a province in the north-east of Muscovy, upon the frozen sea. *Hume*.

697. — arm'd with ice &c.] So Claudian de Rapt. Prof. I. 69.

— ceu turbine rauco

Cum gravis armatur Boreas, glacie-
 que nivali &c. *Richardson*.

698. — and stormy gust and flaw,]
Gust and *flaw* seem to be words much of the same import, only *flaw* is the stronger, derived (as Junius says) from the Greek *φλαω* to break. Shakespear uses both words in his Venus and Adonis,

Like a red morn that ever yet be-
 token'd

Gust and foul *flaws* to herdsmen
 and to herds.

699. *Boreas*] The north wind. *Cæcias* the north-west. *Argestes* the north-east. *Thrafcias* blowing from Thrace, northward of Greece. *Notus* the south wind. *Afer* or *Africus*, the southwest from Africa;

Notusque ruunt creberque procellis
 Africus. Virg. Æn. I. 85.

From *Serrationa* or Lion Mountains; a range of mountains so call'd because of the perpetual storms there roaring like a lion. These are to the south-west of Africa, within a few leagues of Cape Verd, the western point. *Eurus* and *Zephyr* the east and west, call'd also *Levant* and *Ponent* winds (rising and setting) the one blowing from whence the sun rises, the other whence it sets. *Sirocco* ventus Syrus, the south-east; and *Libecchio* ventus Lybicus, the south-

With adverse blast upturns them from the south
 Notus and Afer black with thundrous clouds
 From Serrationa; thwart of these as fierce
 Forth rush the Levant and the Ponent winds
 Eurus and Zephyr with their lateral noise, 705
 Sirocco, and Libecchio. Thus began
 Outrage from lifeless things; but Discord first
 Daughter of Sin, among th' irrational,
 Death introduc'd through fierce antipathy: 709
 Beast now with beast 'gan war, and fowl with fowl,
 And fish with fish; to graze the herb all leaving,

De-

south-west: Italian terms used by
 seamen of the Mediterranean.

Hume and Richardson.

In this account of the winds is a
 needless ostentation of learning, and
 a strange mixture of ancient and
 modern, Latin and Italian names
 together. These are the foibles and
 weak parts of our author, and of
 these it may too truly be said,

Such labor'd nothings, in so strange
 a stile,

Amaze th' unlearn'd, and make the
 learned smile.

710. *Beast now with beast —*

Glar'd on him passing.] These
 verses are very like some upon
 the same occasion in Masenius, as
 cited by Mr. Lauder.

Quadrupedi pugnat quadrupes, vo-
 lucrique volucris,

Et piscis cum pisce ferox hostilibus
 armis

*Prælia sæva gerit: jam pristina pa-
 bula spernunt,*

*Jam tondere piget viridantes gra-
 mine campos;*

*Alterum et alterius vivunt animalia
 letho:*

*Prisca nec in gentem humanam re-
 verentia durat,*

*Sed fugiunt, vel si steterant, fera
 bella minantur*

*Fronte truci, torvosque oculos jacu-
 lantur in illam.*

And perhaps two or three instances
 at most in Milton are something simi-
 lar to passages in Masenius: whe-
 ther accidentally or designedly is a
 question: but surely it is great ab-
 surdity to charge Milton therefore
 with borrowing the substance of 2000
 lines from him.

711. — *to graze the herb all leav-
 ing, &c.*] The word *all* here
 makes strange sense of this passage,
 since according to common construc-
 tion

Devour'd each other; nor stood much in awe
 Of Man, but fled him, or with count'nance grim
 Glar'd on him passing. These were from without
 The growing miseries, which Adam saw 715
 Already' in part, though hid in gloomiest shade,
 To

tion it implies that beasts, fowl, and fish, all graz'd before the fall, and immediately after it began all to prey upon each other, neither of which could possibly be Milton's meaning. How to restore the true reading I don't pretend to determin, but the following lines seem to confine the devouring to the beasts, and might not therefore the word *those* be substituted in the place of *all*? Thyer. Whether Milton's notion was right or not is another question, but certainly it was his notion that *beast*, *fowl*, and *fish* grazed the herb before the fall. Of the *beasts* there can be no doubt; and the *fowl* have the green herb given them for meat as well as the beasts. Gen. I. 30. *And to every beast of the earth, and to every fowl of the air I have given every green herb for meat.* And the goose particularly is by the poet who has best imitated Milton called *close-grazer*. Philips's Cyder. B. 1.

— On the barren heath
 The shepherd tends his flock, that
 daily crop
 Their verdant dinner from the
 mossy turf
 Sufficient; after them the cackling
 goose,
 Close-grazer, finds wherewith to
 ease her want.

The greatest difficulty is with regard to the *fish*, but of these Milton says expressly VII. 404. that they

Graze the sea weed their pasture—
 And therefore according to this notion, it may be said of fowl and fish as well as beasts,

— to graze the herb all leaving,
 Devour'd each other —

But *all* here is not all and every one in particular, but only all in general. Fowl prey upon fowl, and fish upon fish, as much as beast upon beast. Beast, fowl, and fish, all the three kinds, tho' not all of the three kinds, devour each other.

712. — *nor stood much in awe Of Man, but fled him,*] Dr. Bentley reads *but shunn'd him*: because (he says) if they fled him, it was a sign of *fear*, of more than *awe*. True, and for that very reason *fled* is right here, because nothing more shows our not standing much in awe of a Man than our fearing him. *Awe* is a respect or reverence paid to one whom we love, and love excludes fear. Pearce.

714.—*These were from without &c.*] The transition to Adam here is very easy and natural, and cannot fail of pleasing the reader. We have seen great alterations produced in nature, and

To sorrow' abandon'd, but worse felt within,
And in a troubled sea of passion tost,
Thus to disburden fought with sad complaint.

O miserable of happy' ! is this the end 720
Of this new glorious world, and me so late

The

and it is now time to see how Adam is affected with them, and whether the disorders *within* are not even worse than those *without*.

718. *And in a troubled sea of passion tost,*

Thus to disburden fought with sad complaint.] A metaphor taken from a ship in a tempest, unlading, *disburd'ning* to preserve itself from sinking by its weight.

Richardson.

720. *O miserable of happy! &c.*]

The parts of Adam and Eve, or the human persons come next under our consideration. Milton's art is no where more shown than in his conducting the parts of these our first parents. The representation he gives of them, without falsifying the story, is wonderfully contriv'd to influence the reader with pity and compassion towards them. Though Adam involves the whole species in misery, his crime proceeds from a weakness which every man is inclin'd to pardon and commiserate, as it seems rather the frailty of human nature, than of the person who offended. Every one is apt to excuse a fault which he himself might have fallen into. It was the excess of love for Eve, that ruin'd Adam and his posterity. I need not add, that the author is justify'd in this particular by

many of the fathers, and the most orthodox writers. Milton has by this means filled a great part of his poem with that kind of writing which the French critics call the *tender*, and which is in a particular manner engaging to all sorts of readers. Adam and Eve, in the book we are now considering, are likewise drawn with such sentiments, as do not only interest the reader in their afflictions, but raise in him the most melting passions of humanity and commiseration. When Adam sees the several changes in nature produced about him, he appears in a disorder of mind suitable to one who had forfeited both his innocence and his happiness; he is filled with horror, remorse, despair; in the anguish of his heart he expostulates with his Creator for having given him an unask'd existence.

Did I request thee, Maker, from
my clay
To mold me Man? &c.

He immediately after recovers from his presumption, owns his doom to be just, and begs that the death which is threaten'd him may be inflicted on him,

— why delays
His hand to execute what his decree
Fix'd on this day? &c.

This

The glory of that glory, who now become
 Accurs'd of blessed, hide me from the face
 Of God, whom to behold was then my highth
 Of happiness! yet well, if here would end 725
 The misery; I deserv'd it, and would bear
 My own deservings; but this will not serve;
 All that I eat or drink, or shall beget,
 Is propagated curse. O voice once heard
 Delightfully, *Increase and multiply*, 730
 Now death to hear! for what can I increase
 Or multiply, but curses on my head?
 Who of all ages to succeed, but feeling
 The evil on him brought by me, will curse
 My head? Ill fare our ancestor impure, 735
 For

This whole speech is full of the
 like emotion, and varied with all
 those sentiments which we may sup-
 pose natural to a mind so broken
 and disturb'd. I must not omit that
 generous concern which our first
 father shows in it for his posterity,
 and which is so proper to affect the
 reader. Who can afterwards behold
 the father of mankind extended up-
 on the earth, uttering his midnight
 complaints, bewailing his existence,
 and wishing for death, without sym-
 pathizing with him in his distress?

Addison.

728. *All that I eat or drink, or
 shall beget,*

Is propagated curse.] Meat and
 drink propagate it by prolonging
 life, and children by carrying it on
 to posterity. The thought is bor-
 row'd and improv'd from Grotius.
 Adamus Exul. Act V.

Quod comedo, poto, gigno, diris
 subjacet.

740. *On me as on their natural cen-
 ter light*

Heavy, though in their place,] Dr.
 Bentley has really made some very
 just objections to several lines here
 together. He finds fault with Adam's
 not keeping up a due decorum, and
 in that heavy seriousness and anxiety
 leaving

For this we may thank Adam; but his thanks
 Shall be the execration; so besides
 Mine own that bide upon me, all from me
 Shall with a fierce reflux on me redound,
 On me as on their natural center light 740
 Heavy, though in their place. O fleeting joys
 Of Paradise, dear bought with lasting woes!
 Did I request thee, Maker, from my clay
 To mold me Man, did I solicit thee
 From darkness to promote me, or here place 745
 In this delicious garden? as my will
 Concurr'd not to my being, it were but right
 And equal to reduce me to my dust,
 Desirous to resign and render back

All

leaving his true topics, and catching at trifles, quirks, jingles, and other such prettinesses. He censures him, as Mr. Addison had done before, for using such low phrases, as *For this we may thank Adam*; and then for soaring so high inter nubes et inania; *refluxes and natural centers; heavy, though in their place*. Adam, it seems, was already a Peripatetic in his notions: he supposes here, that elementary bodies do not gravitate in their natural places; not air in air, not water in water: from which he fetches a pretty lamentation, That contrary to the course of nature, his afflictions will weigh heavy on him, though they

be in their *proper place*. Is not he sorely afflicted (says the Doctor) that talks at this rate? And yet the worst of it is, this notion is false, and long since exploded by the modern philosophy: water weighs in water, as much as it does out of it. And therefore the Doctor is for lopping off with a bold hand ten lines together: and we heartily wish indeed that no such passages had been admitted into any part of the poem, and especially into so fine a speech as this before us, and all that we can say for them is,

Aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus.

758. *Thou*

All I receiv'd, unable to perform 750
 Thy terms too hard, by which I was to hold
 The good I fought not. To the loss of that,
 Sufficient penalty, why hast thou added
 The sense of endless woes? inexplicable
 Thy justice seems; yet to say truth, too late 755
 I thus contest; then should have been refus'd
 Those terms whatever, when they were propos'd:
 Thou didst accept them; wilt thou' enjoy the good,
 Then cavil the conditions? and though God
 Made thee without thy leave, what if thy Son 760
 Prove disobedient, and reprov'd, retort,
 Wherefore didst thou beget me? I fought it not:
 Wouldst thou admit for his contempt of thee
 That proud excuse? yet him not thy election,
 But natural necessity begot. 765
 God made thee' of choice his own, and of his own
 To serve him; thy reward was of his grace,

Thy

758. *Thou didst &c.*] The change
 of persons, sometimes speaking of
 himself in the first and sometimes to
 himself in the second, is very re-
 markable in this speech, as well as
 the change of passions. And in like
 manner he speaks sometimes of God
 and sometimes to God.

773. *Fix'd on this day?*] For God

had said *In the day that thou eatest
 thereof, thou shalt surely die*, Gen. II.
 17. But it may be question'd whe-
 ther it was now *this day*; for the
night of this day is mention'd before
 in ver. 342. and the *sun's rising* is
 taken notice of in ver. 329: but
 Milton is not always very exact in
 marking the time; he neglects those
 little

Thy punishment then justly' is at his will.
 Be' it so, for I submit ; his doom is fair,
 That dust I am, and shall to dust return : 770
 O welcome hour whenever ! why delays
 His hand to execute what his decree
 Fix'd on this day ? why do I overlive,
 Why am I mock'd with death, and lengthen'd out
 To deathless pain ? how gladly would I meet 775
 Mortality my sentence, and be earth
 Insensible, how glad would lay me down
 As in my mother's lap ? there I should rest
 And sleep secure ; his dreadful voice no more
 Would thunder in my ears, no fear of worse 780
 To me and to my offspring would torment me
 With cruel expectation. Yet one doubt
 Pursues me still, lest all I cannot die,
 Lest that pure breath of life, the spi'rit of Man
 Which God inspir'd, cannot together perish 785
 With

little things for greater beauties.
 783. — *lest all I cannot die,*] A
 like expression in Horace. Od. III.
 XXX. 6.

Non omnis moriar.

784. — *that pure breath of life,*
the spirit of Man
Which God inspir'd,] For the Lord

God formed man of the dust of the
 ground, and breathed into his nostrils
 the breath of life, and man became a
 living soul, Gen. II. 7. And a Hea-
 then poet calls it *divinæ particulam*
auræ : Hor. Sat. II. II. 79. and a
 most memorable passage it is, and
 deserves to be quoted at length.

— Corpus onustum
 Hester-

With this corporeal clod ; then in the grave,
 Or in some other dismal place, who knows
 But I shall die a living death ? O thought
 Horrid, if true ! yet why ? it was but breath
 Of life that sinn'd ; what dies but what had life 790
 And sin ? the body properly hath neither.
 All of me then shall die : let this appease
 The doubt, since human reach no further knows.
 For though the Lord of all be infinite,
 Is his wrath also ? be it, Man is not so, 795
 But mortal doom'd. How can he exercise
 Wrath without end on Man whom death must end ?

Can

Hesternis vitiis animum quoque præ-
 gravat unâ,
 Atque affigit humo divinæ particu-
 lam auræ.

789. — *it was but breath
 Of life that sinn'd ;* Adam is here
 endeavoring to prove to himself that
 the *breath of life* (the spirit of Man
 which God inspir'd into him ver. 784.)
 was to die with his body ; and his
 argument here and in what follows
 runs thus : Nothing *but* breath of
 life sinn'd ; nothing, but what had
 life and sin, dies ; the body properly
 has neither of these, and therefore
 he concludes that the breath of life
 (or spirit of Man within him) was
 to die ; and that *all* of him was to
 die, because the body he knew was
 mortal. Pearce.

800. *Impossible is held, as argument
 Of weakness, not of pow'r.* This
 is the doctrine of the Schoolmen :
 but as it is here spoken in the person
 of Adam, we must suppose that it
 was held likewise by the Angels, of
 whom he might have learned it in
 discourse.

804. — *that were to extend
 His sentence beyond dust and nature's
 law,* Dr. Bentley proposes to
 read — *beyond just and nature's law ;*
 but *dust* is the true reading. Part of
 the sentence pronounced upon Adam,
 X. 208. was this.

*For dust thou art, and shalt to dust
 return.*

Hence Adam here argues, that for
 God to punish him after death would
 be to *extend the sentence beyond dust,*
 beyond

Can he make deathless death? that were to make
 Strange contradiction, which to God himself
 Impossible is held, as argument 800
 Of weakness, not of pow'r. Will he draw out,
 For anger's sake, finite to infinite
 In punish'd Man, to satisfy his rigor
 Satisfy'd never? that were to extend
 His sentence beyond dust and nature's law, 805
 By which all causes else according still
 To the reception of their matter act,
 Not to th' extent of their own sphere. But say
 That death be not one stroke, as I suppos'd,

Be-

beyond what he thought imply'd in
 the words, *thou shalt to dust return*.
 See also ver. 748, 1085. where
 Adam speaks of being reduc'd to
 dust, as the final end of him. *Pearce*.

In quibbles Angel and Arch-Angel
 join,
 And God the Father turns a School-
 divine.

806. *By which all causes else &c.*]
 All other agents act in proportion
 to the *reception* or capacity of the
 subject matter, and not to the utmost
 extent of their own power. An
 allusion to another axiom of the
 schools: *Omne efficiens agit secun-*
dum vires recipientis, non suas. But
 this is not so bad as what Mr. Pope
 has objected to our author,

Milton's strong pinion now not
 Heav'n can bound,
 Now serpent-like, in prose he sweeps
 the ground;

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But it should be consider'd that this
 sort of divinity was much more in
 fashion in Milton's days; and no
 wonder that he was a little ostenta-
 tious of showing his reading in this,
 as well as in all other branches of
 learning. And for his creeping in
 prose, which Mr. Dryden has like-
 wise objected to our author in the
 preface to his Juvenal, we are satis-
 fied that he is thought to do so the
 more only because of his writing in
 blank verse: And if those two poets
 themselves (excellent as they are)
 were stript and divested of their
 rime, it would appear in several
 places

T

Bereaving sense, but endless misery 810
 From this day onward, which I feel begun
 Both in me, and without me, and so last
 To perpetuity; Ay me, that fear
 Comes thund'ring back with dreadful revolution
 On my defenseless head; both Death and I 815
 Am found eternal, and incorporate both,
 Nor I on my part single, in me all
 Posterity stands curs'd: Fair patrimony
 That I must leave ye, Sons; O were I able
 To waste it all myself, and leave ye none! 820
 So disinherited how would ye bless
 Me now your curse! Ah, why should all mankind
 For one man's fault thus guiltless be condemn'd,

If

places of their works, that they have
 little else to support them.

813. — *Ay me, that fear &c.*]
 This is somewhat like the famous
 soliloquy of Hamlet, Act III.

Ay, there's the rub &c.

— that fear
*Comes thund'ring back with dread-
 ful revolution*

On my defenseless head; The
 thought is fine as it is natural. The
 finner may invent never so many
 arguments in favor of the annihila-
 tion and utter extinction of the soul;
 but after all his subterfuges and eva-
 sions, the fear of a future state and

the dread of everlasting punishment
 will still pursue him: he may put it
 off for a time, but it will return *with
 dreadful revolution*; and let him af-
 fect what serenity and gaiety he
 pleases, will notwithstanding in the
 midst of it all *come thund'ring back
 on his defenseless head.*

815. — *both Death and I
 Am found eternal,*] This must be
 the printer's blunder, though all
 editions patronize it. All languages
 agree, that when singular and plural
 are so join'd, the latter must govern.
 He gave it therefore,

— both Death and I
Are found eternal. Bentley.

816. — *and*

If guiltless? But from me what can proceed,
 But all corrupt, both mind and will deprav'd, 825
 Not to do only, but to will the same
 With me? how can they then acquitted stand
 In sight of God? Him after all disputes
 Forc'd I absolve: all my evasions vain,
 And reasonings, though through mazes, lead me still
 But to my own conviction: first and last 831
 On me, me only, as the source and spring
 Of all corruption, all the blame lights due;
 So might the wrath. Fond wish! couldst thou support
 That burden heavier than the earth to bear, 835
 Than all the world much heavier, though divided
 With that bad Woman? Thus what thou desir'st

And

816. ——— and incorporate both,]
 Lodged both together in one mortal
 body, as St. Paul says, Rom. VII.
 24. *Ob wretched man that I am,*
who shall deliver me from the body of
this death? Hume.

817. *Nor I on my part single, in*
me all

Posterity stands curs'd:] And this
 curse was the patrimony which he
 was to leave his sons. The author
 had in view 2 Esdr. VII. 48. *O thou*
Adam what hast thou done? for though
it was thou that sinned, thou art not
fallen alone, but we all that come of
thee.

825. *But all corrupt,]* For as Job

says, XIV. 4. *Who can bring a clean*
thing out of an unclean?

834. *So might the wrath.]* So is
 used in the sense of wishing, as in
 III. 34.

So were I equal'd with them in
renown.

835. — *heavier than the earth*
to bear,

Than all the world much heavier,]
 We quote this only that the reader
 may observe the beautiful turn of
 the words, *heavier* the first in one
 line and the last in the other: and
 that *much* is well thrown in, and
 raises the sense greatly; the *burden*
 T 2 is

And what thou fear'st, alike destroys all hope
 Of refuge, and concludes thee miserable
 Beyond all past example and future, 840
 To Satan only like both crime and doom.
 O Conscience, into what abyss of fears
 And horrors hast thou driv'n me; out of which
 I find no way, from deep to deeper plung'd!

Thus Adam to himself lamented loud 845
 Through the still night, not now, as ere Man fell,
 Wholesome and cool, and mild, but with black air
 Accompanied, with damps and dreadful gloom,
 Which to his evil conscience represented

All

is not only *heavier than the earth to bear*, it is *heavier than all the world*, nay it is *much heavier*.

840. *Beyond all past example and future,*] As Adam is here speaking in great agonies of mind, he aggravates his own misery, and concludes it to be greater and worse than that of the fallen Angels or all future men, as having in himself alone the source of misery for all his posterity, whereas both Angels and Men had only their own to bear. Satan was only like him, as being the ring-leader, and this added very much to his remorse as we read in I. 605. The accent upon the word *future* is indeed very uncommon, but it is the Latin accent, and there is a like instance in Fairfax's Tasso, Cant. 17. St. 88.

But not by art or skill, of things future
 Can the plain troth revealed be and told.

There is no occasion then to read, as some have propos'd,

Beyond all past example', and future too,

or as others,

Beyond all past example, and all future.

846. *Through the still night,*] We can hardly suppose this to be the night immediately after the fall; for *that night* Satan overheard Adam and Eve discoursing together, ver. 341.

—— return'd

By

All things with double terror: on the ground 850
 Outstretch'd he lay, on the cold ground, and oft
 Curs'd his creation, death as oft accus'd
 Of tardy execution, since denounc'd
 The day of his offense. Why comes not death,
 Said he, with one thrice acceptable stroke 855
 To end me? shall truth fail to keep her word,
 Justice divine not hasten to be just?
 But death comes not at call, justice divine
 Mends not her slowest pace for pray'rs or cries.
 O woods, O fountains, hillocks, dales and bowers, 860
 With other echo late I taught your shades

To

By night, and list'ning where the
 hapless pair
 Sat in their sad discourse, and va-
 rious plaint,
 Thence gather'd his own doom;

and the next morning, *while the sun
 in Aries rose, ver. 329.* he met Sin
 and Death in their way to earth;
 they discourse together, and it was
 after Sin and Death were arriv'd in
 Paradise, that the Almighty made
 that speech from ver. 616. to ver.
 641. and after that the Angels are
 order'd to make the changes in na-
 ture: so that this, we conceive, must
 be some other night than that im-
 mediately after the fall.

854. — *Why comes not death,—
 But death comes not at call,*] So-
 phocles' *Philoctetes*, 793.

Ω θανάτε, θανάτε, πῶς αἰ κα-
 λῆμεν
 Οὕτω κατ' ἡμᾶρ, οὐ δύνη μολεῖν
 ποτε;

859. — *her slowest pace*] *Pede
 pœna claudio.* Hor. Od. III. II 32.
 The most beautiful passages com-
 monly want the fewest notes: and
 for the beauties of this passage, we
 are sure, the reader must not only
 perceive them, but must really feel
 them, if he has any feeling at all.
 Nothing in all the ancient tragedies
 is more moving and pathetic.

860. *O woods, O fountains, hillocks,
 dales and bowers,*

*With other echo late I taught your
 shades*

*To answer, and resound far other
 song*] Alluding to this part
 of Adam's morning hymn, V. 202.
 T 3 Witness

To answer, and resound far other song.
 Whom thus afflicted when sad Eve beheld,
 Desolate where she sat, approaching nigh,
 Soft words to his fierce passion she assay'd: 865
 But her with stern regard he thus repell'd.

Out of my sight, thou Serpent; that name best
 Befits thee with him leagu'd, thyself as false
 And hateful; nothing wants, but that thy shape,
 Like his, and color serpentine may show 870
 Thy inward fraud, to warn all creatures from thee
 Henceforth; lest that too heav'nly form, pretended
 To hellish falshood, snare them. But for thee
 I had persisted happy, had not thy pride

And

Witness if I be silent, morn or even, To hill, or valley, fountain or fresh shade Made vocal by my song, and taught his praise. <i>Thyer.</i>	renewing her addresses to him, with the whole speech that follows it, have something in them exquisitely moving and pathetic: He added not, and from her turn'd; but Eve &c.
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863. *Whom thus afflicted when sad Eve beheld, &c.*] The part of Eve in this book is no less passionate and apt to sway the reader in her favor. She is represented with great tenderness as approaching Adam, but is spurn'd from him with a spirit of upbraiding and indignation, conformable to the nature of Man, whose passions had now gained the dominion over him. The following passage, wherein she is described as Adam's reconciliation to her is work'd up in the same spirit of tenderness. Eve afterwards proposes to her husband, in the blindness of her despair, that to prevent their guilt from descending upon posterity they should resolve to live childless; or if that could not be done, they should seek their own deaths by violent methods. As those sentiments naturally engage the reader to regard the mother of mankind with more than

And wand'ring vanity, when least was safe, 875
 Rejected my forewarning, and disdain'd
 Not to be trusted, longing to be seen
 Though by the Dev'il himself, him overweening
 To over-reach, but with the Serpent meeting
 Fool'd and beguil'd, by him thou, I by thee, 880
 To trust thee from my side, imagin'd wife,
 Constant, mature, proof against all assaults,
 And understood not all was but a show
 Rather than solid virtue', all but a rib
 Crooked by nature, bent, as now appears, 885
 More to the part sinister, from me drawn,
 Well if thrown out, as supernumerary

To

than ordinary commiseration, they likewise contain a very fine moral. The resolution of dying to end our miseries, does not show such a degree of magnanimity as a resolution to bear them, and submit to the dispensations of Providence. Our author has therefore, with great delicacy, represented Eve as entertaining this thought, and Adam as disapproving it. Addison.

872. — lest that too heav'nly form, pretended

To hellish falsehood, snare them.] Dr. Bentley chooses rather *obtended*: but in English the word *obtended* is at least as unusual, as the sense here of *pretended* is. *Pretended* to signifies here, as in the Latin tongue, held

or *plac'd before*: so we have in Virgil's Georg. I. 270. *segeti prætere* sepem; and in Æn. VI. 60. *prætentaque Syrtibus arva*. So Pliny in his Epistles, Lib. 1. Ep. 16. says, *nec desidæ nostræ prætendamus alienam*.

Pearce.

Pretended to, held before. So Milton himself explains this phrase, p. 809. Tol. Edit. — but ecclesiastical is ever *pretended* to political. Thus Quintil. Pref. to L. 1. *Vultum et tristitiam et dissentientem a cæteris habitum pessimis moribus prætendebant*, speaking of the false philosophers. Richardson.

883. And understood not] The construction is *I was fool'd and beguil'd by thee, and understood not &c*

T 4

888. To

To my just number found. O why did God,
 Creator wise, that peopled highest Heaven
 With Spirits masculine, create at last 890
 This novelty on earth, this fair defect
 Of nature, and not fill the world at once
 With Men as Angels without feminine,
 Or find some other way to generate
 Mankind? this mischief had not then befall'n, 895
 And

888. *To my just number found.*] The just number of ribs in a man is twenty-four, twelve on each side, though sometimes there have been found those who have had thirteen as Galen says, and very rarely some who have had but eleven, as Tho. Bartholinus, a famous physician, observed, in a lusty strong man whom he dissected in the year 1657, who had but eleven on one side, and a small appearance of a twelfth on the other. *Histor. Anatom. & Medic. Centur. 5. c. 1.* But some writers have been of opinion that Adam had thirteen ribs on the left side, and that out of the thirteenth rib God formed Eve: and it is to this opinion that Milton here alludes, and makes Adam say, It was well if this rib was *thrown out, as supernumerary to his just number.*

888. — *O why did God, &c.*] This thought was originally of Euripides, who makes Hippolytus in like manner expostulate with Jupiter for not creating man without women. See Hippol. 616.

Ω Ζευ, τι δη κιβδηλον ανθρωποις
 κακον,
 Γυναικας, εις φως ηλις κατακισας;
 Ει γαρ βροτειον ηθελες σπειραι
 γενθ,
 Ου κεκ γυναικων χρεν παραχες-
 θαι τοδε. &c.

And Jason is made to talk in the same strain in the Medea, 573.

— χρεν γαρ αλλοθεν ποθεν
 βροτες
 Παιδας τεκνεσθαι, δηλυ δ' εκ
 ειναι γενθ,
 Ουτω δ' αν εκ ην εδεν ανθρωποις
 κακον.

And such sentiments as these, we suppose, procur'd Euripides the name of the Woman-hater. Ariosto however hath ventur'd upon the same in Rodomont's invective against women. Orlando Furioso, Cant. 27. St. 120.

Perche fatto non ha l'alma Natura
 Che senza te potesse nascer l'huomo,
 Come s' inetta per umana cura
 L'un sopra l'altro il pero, il sorbo,
 e'l pomo?

Why

And more that shall befall, innumerable
 Disturbances on earth through female snares,
 And strait conjunction with this sex: for either
 He never shall find out fit mate, but such
 As some misfortune brings him, or mistake; 900
 Or whom he wishes most shall seldom gain
 Through her perverseness, but shall see her gain'd
 By a far worse, or if she love, withheld

By

Why did not Nature rather so provide

Lyfander says in the Midsummer Night's Dream, Act I.

Without your help, that man of man might come,

The course of true love never did run smooth;

And one be grafted on another's side,
 As are the apples with the pear and plome? Harrington. St. 97.

But either it was different in blood,
 Or else misgrafted in respect of years,
 Or else it stood upon the choice of friends,

Nor are similar examples wanting among our English authors. Sir Thomas Brown in the second part of his *Religio Medici*, Sect. 9. has something very curious to this purpose, which no doubt Milton had read, that work having been first publish'd in the year 1642, about twenty-five years before Paradise Lost. Shakespear makes Posthumus cry out in resentment of Imogen's behaviour, Cymbeline, Act. II. which we are sure that our author had read,

Or if there were a sympathy in choice,
 War, death, or sickness did lay siege to it &c.

898. ——— for either

He never shall find out fit mate, &c.]

I have often thought, it was great pity that Adam's speech had not ended where these lines begin. The sense is quite complete without them; and they seem much fitter for a digressional observation of the author's, such as his panegyric on marriage &c, than to be put into the mouth of Adam, who could not very naturally be supposed at that time to foresee so very circumstantially the inconveniences attending our *strait conjunction with this sex*, as he expresses it. *Thyer.*

Is there no way for men to be, but women

Must be half-workers?

And the complaints which Adam makes of the disasters of love may be compared with what Shakespear's

916. — and

By parents; or his happiest choice too late
 Shall meet, already link'd and wedlock-bound 905
 To a fell adversary', his hate or shame:
 Which infinite calamity shall cause
 To human life, and household peace confound.

He added not, and from her turn'd; but Eve
 Not so repuls'd, with tears that ceas'd not flowing,
 And tresses all disorder'd, at his feet 911
 Fell humble, and embracing them, besought
 His peace, and thus proceeded in her plaint.

Forfake me not thus, Adam, witness Heaven
 What love sincere, and reverence in my heart 915
 I bear thee, and unweeting have offended,
 Unhappily deceiv'd; thy suppliant
 I beg, and clasp thy knees; bereave me not,

Whereon

916. — *and unweeting have of-
 fended,*] Spenser, Fairy
 Queen, B. I. Cant. 2. St. 45.

As all *unweeting* of that well she
 knew. . . . *Thyer.*

918. — *bereave me not,
 Whereon I live, thy gentle looks, thy
 aid, &c.*] In this tragical part
 our author seems to have had his
 eye upon Grotius's tragedy, *Adamus*
Exul Act V.

*Cassam, oro, dulci luminis jubare tui
 Ne me relinquo: nunc tuo auxilio
 est opus,*

*Cam versa fors est. Unicum lapsæ
 mihi*

*Firmamen, unam spem gravi ad-
 flictæ malo*

*Te mihi reserva, dum licet; —
 Tibi nam relicta, quo vadam, aut
 ævum exigam?*

925. — *one enmity*] There is some-
 thing not improbable in Dr. Bentley's
 reading,

— both joining
 As join'd in injuries, *in enmity*:

but perhaps the author put *one* in
 oppo-

Whereon I live, thy gentle looks, thy aid,
 Thy counsel in this uttermost distress, 920
 My only strength and stay: forlorn of thee,
 Whither shall I betake me, where subsist?
 While yet we live, scarce one short hour perhaps,
 Between us two let there be peace, both joining,
 As join'd in injuries, one enmity 925
 Against a foe by doom express assign'd us,
 That cruel Serpent: On me exercise not
 Thy hatred for this misery befall'n,
 On me already lost, me than thyself
 More miserable; both have sinn'd, but thou 930
 Against God only, I against God and thee,
 And to the place of judgment will return,
 There with my cries importune Heav'n, that all

The

opposition to both; both joining one enmity.

926. *Against a foe by doom express assign'd us,*] For it was part of the sentence, pronounc'd upon the Serpent, Gen. III. 15. *I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed.*

929. — *me than thyself*
More miserable; both have sinn'd,
but thou
Against God only, I against God
and thee,] The author had

here again his eye upon Grotius, Adamus Exul. Act V.

*Tu namque soli numini contrarius,
 Minus es nocivus; ast ego nocentior,
 (Adeoque misera magis —)
 Deumque læsi scelere, teque, vir,
 simul.*

As Milton read all good authors, so he improv'd by all, the modern as well as the ancient: and as an Essay has been written upon his imitations of the Ancients, there might be another upon his imitations of the Moderns.

936. *Me,*

The sentence from thy head remov'd may light
 On me, sole cause to thee of all this woe, 935
 Me, me only, just object of his ire.

She ended weeping, and her lowly plight,
 Immoveable till peace obtain'd from fault
 Acknowledg'd and deplor'd, in Adam wrought
 Commiseration; soon his heart relented 940
 Tow'ards her, his life so late and sole delight,
 Now at his feet submissive in distress,
 Creature so fair his reconciliation seeking,
 His counsel, whom she had displeas'd, his aid;

As

936. *Me, me only, just object*] The repetition of *me me* here is like what we took notice of in III 236. and like that in Virgil's *Æn.* IX. 427.

Me, me, adsum qui feci, in *me* convertite ferrum:

and like Abigail's speech to David, 1 Sam. XXV. 24. *Upon me, my Lord, upon me let this iniquity be.* Dr. Bentley would read,

Me, only me, just object of his ire: but as the repetition is highly pathetic, Mr. Upton thinks the trochaic following the spondee makes the pathos more perceptible.

940. — *soon his heart relented*] This seems to have been drawn from a domestic scene. Milton's wife soon after marriage went to visit her friends in Oxfordshire, and refused to return at the time appointed; He often solicited her, but in vain; she

declar'd her resolution not to cohabit with him any more. Upon this he wrote his *Doctrin and Disciplin of Divorce*, and to show that he was in earnest was actually treating about a second marriage, when the wife contrived to meet him at a friend's whom he often visited, and there fell prostrate before him, imploring forgiveness and reconciliation. It is not to be doubted (says Mr. Fenton) but an interview of that nature, so little expected, must wonderfully affect him: and perhaps the impressions it made on his imagination contributed much to the painting of that pathetic scene in *Paradise Lost*, in which Eve addresseth herself to Adam for pardon and peace. At the intercession of his friends who were present, after a short reluctance he generously sacrific'd all his resentment to her tears:

— soon

As one disarm'd, his anger all he lost, 945
And thus with peaceful words uprais'd her soon.

Unwary', and too desirous, as before,
So now of what thou know'st not, who desir'st
The punishment all on thyself; alas,
Bear thine own first, ill able to sustain 950
His full wrath, whose thou feel'st as yet least part,
And my displeasure bear'st so ill. If prayers
Could alter high decrees, I to that place
Would speed before thee, and be louder heard,
That on my head all might be visited, 955

Thy

— soon his heart relented
Towards her, his life so late and
sole delight,
Now at his feet submissive in distress.

Mr. Thyer thus farther enlarges upon the same subject. " This picture
" of Eve's distress, her submissive
" tender address to her husband, and
" his generous reconciliation to her
" are extremely beautiful, I had
" almost said, beyond any thing in
" the whole poem; and that reader
" must have a very sour and unfriendly
" turn of mind, whose heart
" does not *relent* with Adam's, and
" melt into a sympathizing commiseration
" towards the mother of mankind; so well has our author
" here follow'd Horace's advice,

— Si vis me flere, dolendum est
Primum ipsi tibi —

Art. Poet. 102.

" Milton with great depth of judgment observes in his *Apology for Sme'tymnuus*, that he who would
" not be frustrate of his hope to write
" well in laudable things, ought himself to be a true poem, that is, a composition of the best and honorablest
" things, — and have in himself the
" experience and practice of all that
" which is praise worthy: of the
" truth of which observation he himself is, I think, a shining instance
" in this charming scene now before us, since there is little room
" to doubt but that the particular
" beauties of it are owing to an
" interview of the same nature which
" he had with his own wife, and
" that he is only here describing
" those tender and generous sentiments, which he then felt and
" experienced."

Thy frailty and infirmer sex forgiven,
 To me committed and by me expos'd.
 But rise, let us no more contend, nor blame
 Each other, blam'd enough elsewhere, but strive
 In offices of love, how we may lighten 960
 Each other's burden, in our share of woe;
 Since this day's death denounc'd, if ought I see,
 Will prove no sudden, but a slow-pac'd evil,
 A long day's dying to augment our pain,
 And to our seed (O hapless seed!) deriv'd. 965

To whom thus Eve, recovering heart, reply'd.
 Adam, by sad experiment I know
 How little weight my words with thee can find,
 Found so erroneous, thence by just event
 Found so unfortunate; nevertheless, 970
 Restor'd by thee, vile as I am, to place
 Of new acceptance, hopeful to regain

Thy

976. *Tending to some relief of our extremes,*

Or end,] Adam had said before, that the death denounc'd upon them, as far as he could see, would prove no sudden but a slow pac'd evil, a long day's dying, and would likewise be deriv'd to their posterity. Eve therefore proposes, to prevent its being deriv'd to their posterity,

that they should resolve to remain childless; or if they found it difficult to do so, that then, to prevent a long day's dying to themselves and seed at once, they should make short and destroy themselves. The former method she considers as *some relief of their extremes*, the latter as the end.

978. *A;*

Thy love, the sole contentment of my heart
 Living or dying, from thee I will not hide
 What thoughts in my unquiet breast are risen, 975
 Tending to some relief of our extremes,
 Or end, though sharp and sad, yet tolerable,
 As in our evils, and of easier choice.
 If care of our descent perplex us most,
 Which must be born to certain woe, devour'd 980
 By Death at last; and miserable it is
 To be to others cause of misery,
 Our own begott'en, and of our loins to bring
 Into this cursed world a woful race,
 That after wretched life must be at last 985
 Food for so foul a monster; in thy power
 It lies, yet ere conception to prevent
 The race unblest, to bei'ng yet unbegot.
 Childless thou art, childless remain: so Death

Shall

978. *As in our evils,*] That is considering the excess of evil to which we are reduc'd; an elegant Latin use of the word *As*. Cic. Epist. Fam. IV. 9. Nam adhuc, et factum tuum probatur, et. *ut in tali re*, etiam fortuna laudatur XII. 2. Non nihil, *ut in tantis malis*, est profectum, that is, considering our ill situation.

Richardson.

989. *Childless thou art, childless remain:*] It is a strange mistake in some editions, and especially in Milton's own, where this imperfect verse is printed as a whole verse, and the words *so Death* wanting to complete the line are added to the next line, which is thereby made as much too long as this is too short. *So Death shall be deceiv'd his glut, and with us two.*

1004. — and

Shall be deceiv'd his glut, and with us two 990
 Be forc'd to satisfy his ravenous maw.
 But if thou judge it hard and difficult,
 Converting, looking, loving, to abstain
 From love's due rites, nuptial embraces sweet,
 And with desire to languish without hope, 995
 Before the present object languishing
 With like desire, which would be misery
 And torment less than none of what we dread;
 Then both ourselves and feed at once to free
 From what we fear for both, let us make short,
 Let us seek Death, or he not found, supply 1001
 With our own hands his office on ourselves :
 Why stand we longer shivering under fears,
 That show no end but death, and have the power,
 Of many ways to die the shortest choos'ing, 1005
 Destruction with destruction to destroy ?

She

1004. — *and have the power,
 Of many ways to die the shortest
 choos'ing,
 Destruction with destruction to de-
 stroy?*] So these verses are
 pointed in Milton's original editions;
 and the construction is this, *and have
 the power to destroy destruction with
 destruction, choos'ing the shortest of
 many ways to die.* Mr. Fenton and

Dr. Bentley have taken away the
 comma after *power*, and have put
 the one a comma, and the other a
 semicolon after *to die*: but *of many
 ways to die* is not to be join'd in
 construction with *the power*, and
have the power of many ways to die;
 but is to be join'd in construction
 with *the shortest*, *choos'ing the shortest
 of many ways to die*: and this makes
 better

She ended here, or vehement despair
 Broke off the rest; so much of death her thoughts
 Had entertain'd, as dy'd her cheeks with pale.
 But Adam with such counsel nothing sway'd, 1010
 To better hopes his more attentive mind
 Lab'ring had rais'd, and thus to Eve reply'd.

Eve, thy contempt of life and pleasure seems
 To argue in thee something more sublime
 And excellent than what thy mind contemns; 1015
 But self-destruction therefore sought, refutes
 That excellence thought in thee, and implies,
 Not thy contempt, but anguish and regret
 For loss of life and pleasure overlov'd.
 Or if thou covet death, as utmost end 1020
 Of misery, so thinking to evade
 The penalty pronounc'd, doubt not but God
 Hath wiselier arm'd his vengeful ire than so

To

better sense and grammar than can
 be with any other punctuation.

1007. *She ended here* —

— *so much of death her thoughts*
Had entertain'd, as dy'd her cheeks
with pale.] Virg. *Æn.* IV.

499.

Hæc effata file: pallor simul oc-
cupat ora. Fortin.
 VOL. II.

— *maculisque trementes*
Interfusa genas, et pallida morte
futurâ. *Æn.* IV. 644.

— *Multorum pallor in ore*
Mortis venturæ est, faciesque simil-
lima fato. Luc. VII. 130.

Hume.

1011. — *his more attentive mind*] *U*
Attending more to what had passed,
calling

To be forestall'd; much more I fear lest death
 So snatch'd will not exempt us from the pain 1025
 We are by doom to pay; rather such acts
 Of contumacy will provoke the Highest
 To make death in us live: Then let us seek
 Some safer resolution, which methinks
 I have in view, calling to mind with heed 1030
 Part of our sentence, that thy seed shall bruise
 The Serpent's head; piteous amends, unless
 Be meant, whom I conjecture, our grand foe
 Satan, who in the serpent hath contriv'd
 Against us this deceit: to crush his head 1035
 Would be revenge indeed; which will be lost
 By death brought on ourselves, or childless days
 Resolv'd as thou propos'st; so our foe
 Shall 'scape his punishment ordain'd, and we
 Instead shall double ours upon our heads. 1040
 No more be mention'd then of violence
 Against ourselves, and wilful barrenness,

That

calling to mind with heed their sentence, as it is ver. 1030.

1024. *To be forestall'd;*] This word appears too low for heroic

poetry: it might not be so trite and vulgar formerly; for Fairfax likewise uses it in his Jerusalem, Cant. 15. St. 47.

But

That cuts us off from hope, and favors only
 Rancor and pride, impatience and despite,
 Reluctance against God and his just yoke 1045
 Laid on our necks. Remember with what mild
 And gracious temper he both heard and judg'd
 Without wrath or reviling; we expected
 Immediate dissolution, which we thought
 Was meant by death that day, when lo, to thee 1050
 Pains only in child-bearing were foretold,
 And bringing forth, soon recompens'd with joy,
 Fruit of thy womb: on me the curse aslope
 Glanc'd on the ground; with labor I must earn
 My bread; what harm? Idleness had been worse;
 My labor will sustain me; and lest cold 1056
 Or heat should injure us, his timely care
 Hath unbefought provided, and his hands
 Cloth'd us unworthy, pitying while he judg'd;
 How much more, if we pray him, will his ear 1060
 Be open, and his heart to pity' incline,

And

But forth there crept (from whence
 I cannot say)
 An ugly serpent, which *forefall'd*
 their way:

1054. *Glanc'd on the ground;*] The
 quibble here is insufferable.

Warburton.

U 2

1066. — *seat-*

And teach us further by what means to shun
 Th' inclement seasons, rain, ice, hail and snow?
 Which now the sky with various face begins
 To show us in this mountain, while the winds 1065
 Blow moist and keen, shattering the graceful locks
 Of these fair spreading trees; which bids us seek
 Some better shroud, some better warmth to cherish
 Our limbs benumm'd, ere this diurnal star
 Leave cold the night, how we his gather'd beams
 Reflected, may with matter sere foment, 1071
 Or by collision of two bodies grind

The

1066. — *shattering the graceful locks*] This *shattering* is an excellent word, and very expressive of the sense, shaking or breaking to pieces; and etymologists derive it of the Belgic *Schetteren*. Our author had used it before in his *Lycidas*,

Shatter your leaves before the melting year.

And *locks of trees* is a Latinism; *Spissæ nemorum comæ*, Hor. Od. IV. III. 11. *Arboribusque comæ*, IV. VII. 2.

1069. — *ere this diurnal star Leave cold the night.*] The *diurnal star* is the star of day, the sun, as in *Lycidas*,

So sinks the *day star* in the ocean bed:

So that this is spoken as if it was now day, whereas it was *night* a little before. See ver. 846. And after *Leave cold the night* there should be only a comma as in Milton's own editions, and not a colon as in Dr. Bentley's; for *how we his gather'd beams &c* still refers to *which bids us seek*.

1071. — *with matter sere foment,*] *Sere* ξηρ (Greek) dry: according to Virgil's exact description, *Æn.* I. 175.

Suscepitque ignem foliis, atque arida circum

Nutrimenta dedit, rapuitque in fomite flammam. *Hume.*

I find the word *sere* used likewise by Spenser in his *Shepherd's Calendar*, Ecl. II.

His

The air attrite to fire, as late the clouds
 Justling or push'd with winds rude in their shock
 Tine the slant lightning, whose thwart flame driv'n
 down

1075

Kindles the gummy bark of fir or pine,
 And sends a comfortable heat from far,
 Which might supply the sun : such fire to use,
 And what may else be remedy or cure
 To evils which our own misdeeds have wrought,
 He will instruct us praying, and of grace
 Beseeching him, so as we need not fear

To

His top was bald, and wasted with
 worms,
 His honor decay'd, his branches *sere*.
 And again,
 How falls it then that this faded
 oak,
 Whose body is *sere*, whose branches
 broke.
 And by our author in his *Lycidas*,
 ——— with ivy never *sere*.

1072. Or by collision of two bodies
 grind

The air attrite to fire, as late the
 clouds &c.] Our poet had
 Lucretius here in mind, and plainly
 alludes to his account of the origin
 of fire, V. 1091.

Fulmen detulit in terras mortalibus
 ignem

Primitus : inde omnis flammæ
 diditur ardor.

Multa videmus enim cœlestibus in-
 citâ flammis

Fulgere, quom cœli donavit plaga
 vapores, &c.

Now for the rise of fire : Swift thun-
 der thrown

From broken sulphurous clouds first
 brought it down ;

For many things take fire, when
 lightning flies,

And sulphurous vapors fill the lower
 skies ; &c Creech.

1075. Tine the slant lightning,]
 To *tine* is deriv'd from the Saxon
tynan to light, to kindle ; from
 whence also we have the word
tinder.

U 3

1092. — and

To pass commodiously this life, sustain'd
By him with many comforts, till we end
In dust, our final rest and native home.

1085

What better can we do, than to the place
Repairing where he judg'd us, prostrate fall
Before him reverent, and there confess
Humbly our faults, and pardon beg, with tears
Watering the ground, and with our sighs the air 1090
Frequenting, sent from hearts contrite, in sign
Of sorrow' unfeign'd, and humiliation meek?
Undoubtedly he will relent and turn
From his displeasure; in whose look serene,
When angry most he seem'd and most severe, 1095
What else but favor, grace, and mercy shone?

So spake our father penitent, nor Eve
Felt less remorse: they forthwith to the place

Repairing

1092. — *and humiliation meek?*] I believe he gave it,

bear repeating; and has the true air both of simplicity and grandeur.

Bentley.

— and humiliation *meet*:

and so in the last verse. But note that the last seven verses, being a repetition of the former, mood and tense only of the verbs chang'd, is an imitation of Homer and Virgil; and shows an assurance in the poet, that what was once well said will

Dr. Bentley believes that Milton gave it *meet*: but I believe not. He seems to think that *meek humiliation* is tautology; but *humiliation* here is not *humility*: it is the act of humbling themselves before God. We have *meek submission* in XII. 597.

Pearce.

Repairing where he judg'd them, prostrate fell
Before him reverent, and both confess'd 1100
Humbly their faults, and pardon begg'd, with tears
Watering the ground, and with their sighs the air
Frequenting, sent from hearts contrite, in sign
Of sorrow' unfeign'd, and humiliation meek.

The end of the Tenth Book.

THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF
HENRY THE FIRST
BY
JOHN GILBERT FROTHINGHAM

LONDON:
PRINTED BY
JOHN JOHNSON, ST. PAULS CHURCH-YARD
1825

THE

ELEVENTH BOOK

OF

PARADISE LOST.

THE ARGUMENT.

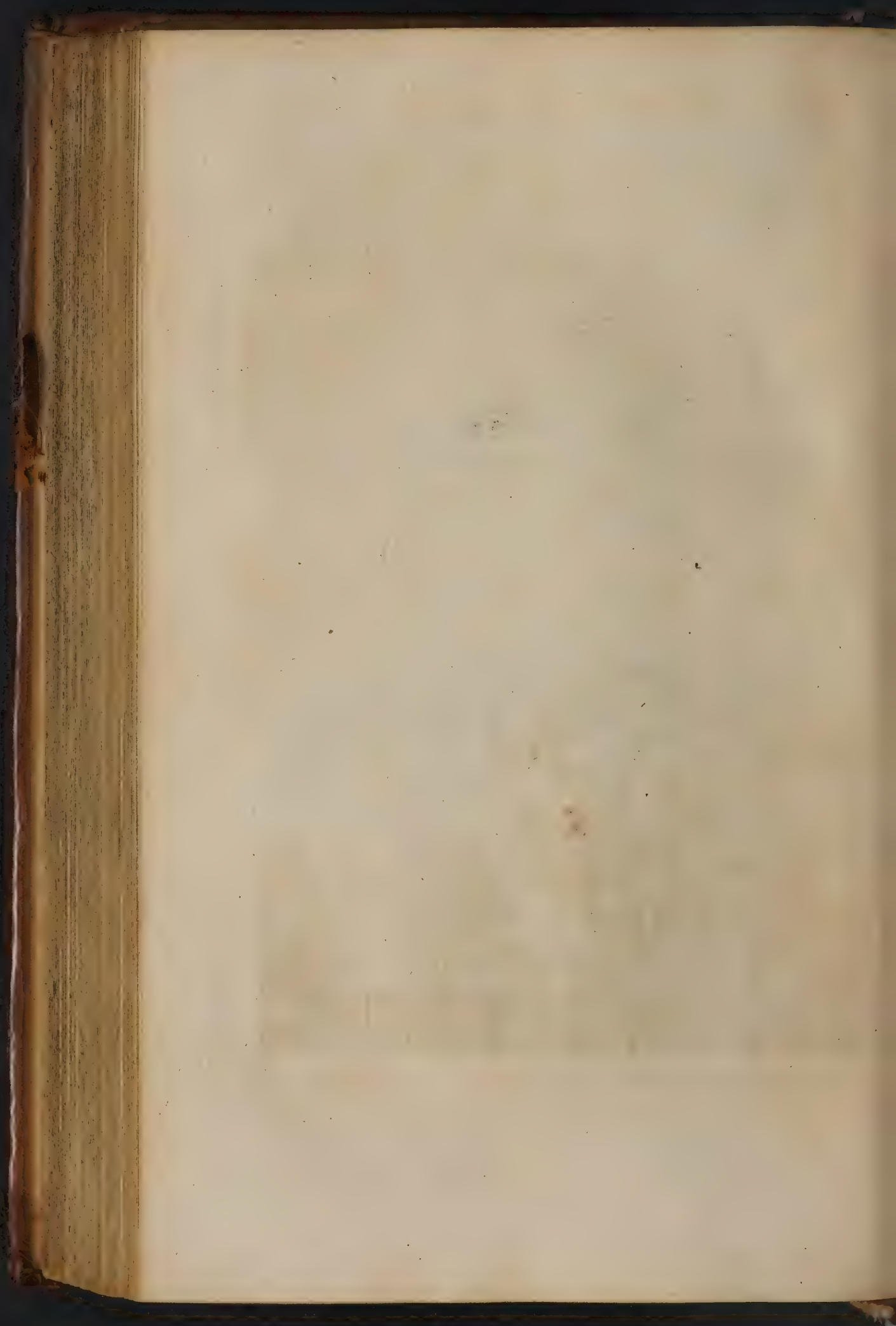
The Son of God presents to his Father the prayers of our first parents now repenting, and intercedes for them: God accepts them, but declares that they must no longer abide in Paradise; sends Michael with a band of Cherubim to dispossess them; but first to reveal to Adam future things: Michael's coming down. Adam shows to Eve certain ominous signs; he discerns Michael's approach, goes out to meet him: the Angel denounces their departure. Eve's Lamentation. Adam pleads, but submits: The Angel leads him up to a high hill, sets before him in vision what shall happen till the flood.



J. Hayman inv. et del.

J. S. Müller sc.

Book II.



PARADISE LOST.

BOOK XI.

THUS they in lowliest plight repentant stood
Praying, for from the mercy-seat above

Pre-

1. *Thus they in lowliest plight &c.*] Milton has shown a wonderful art in describing that variety of passions, which arise in our first parents upon the breach of the commandment that had been given them. We see them gradually passing from the triumph of their guilt through remorse, shame, despair, contrition, prayer and hope, to a perfect and complete repentance. At the end of the tenth book they are represented as prostrating themselves upon the ground, and watering the earth with their tears: to which the poet joins this beautiful circumstance, that they offer'd up their penitential prayers on the very place where their judge appeared to them when he pronounced their sentence. There is a beauty of the same kind in a tragedy of Sophocles, where Oedipus, after having put out his own eyes, instead of breaking his neck from the palace-battlements (which furnishes so elegant an entertainment for our English audience) desires that he may be conducted to mount Cithæron, in order to end his life in that very place where he was exposed in his infancy, and where he should then have died, had the will of his parents been executed.

As the author never fails to give a poetical turn to his sentiments, he describes in the beginning of this book the acceptance which these their prayers met with, in a short allegory form'd upon that beautiful passage in holy Writ: (Rev. VIII. 4.) *And another Angel came and stood at the altar, having a golden censer; and there was given unto him much incense, that he should offer it with the prayers of all saints upon the golden altar which was before the throne: and the smoke of the incense, which came with the prayers of the saints, ascended up before God.* We have the same thought express'd a second time in the intercession of the Messiah, which is conceiv'd in very emphatic sentiments and expressions. *Addison.*

1. — *repentant stood*

Praying,] Dr. Bentley thinks that the author intended it *repentant kneel'd*, because it is said in ver. 150, and in X. 1099, that they *kneel'd* and *fell prostrate*: But *stood* here has no other sense than that of the noun substantive *were*. So in II. 55. *stand in arms* signifies *are in arms*. In the same sense *stetit* and *esset* are often used by the Latins and Greeks. See my note on II. 56. *Pearce.*

5. — *that*

Prevenient grace descending had remov'd
 The stony from their hearts, and made new flesh
 Regenerate grow instead, that sighs now breath'd 5
 Unutterable, which the Spi'rit of prayer
 Inspir'd, and wing'd for Heav'n with speedier flight
 Than loudest oratory: yet their port
 Not of mean suiters, nor important less

Seem'd

5. — *that sighs now breath'd*
Unutterable,] That sighs unex-
 pressible burst forth, which God's
 Holy Spirit, the Spirit of supplica-
 tion and intercession, breathed into
 them, and wafted up to Heaven with
 nimbler speed, than the most audible
 and loudest oration could ever reach:
 According to St. Paul, Rom. VIII.
 26. *Likewise the Spirit also helpeth*
our infirmities; for we know not what
we should pray for as we ought: but
the Spirit itself maketh intercession for
us with groanings which cannot be
uttered. Hume.

8. — *yet their port &c.]* This
 yet refers so far back as to line the
 first, *Thus they in lowliest plight re-*
pentant stood praying, yet their port
not of mean suiters, all the interme-
 diate lines being to be understood as
 in a parenthesis. *Nor did their peti-*
tion seem of less importance, than when
the ancient pair so renown'd in old
fables, yet not so ancient a pair as
Adam and Eve, Deucalion and chaste
Pyrrha, in order to restore the race
of mankind after the deluge, stood de-
voutly praying before the shrine of
Themis, the Goddess of justice, who
had the most famous oracle of those

days. The poet could not have
 thought of a more apt similitude to
 illustrate his subject, and he has
 plainly fetch'd it from Ovid, Met. I.
 318.

Hic ubi Deucalion (nam cætera
 texerat æquor)
 Cum consorte tori parvâ rate vectus
 adhæsit;
 Corycidas Nymphas et numina
 montis adorant,
 Fatidicamque Themis, quæ tunc
 orâcla tenebat.
 Non illo melior quisquam, nec a-
 mantior æqui
 Vir fuit, aut illâ metuentior ulla
 Deorum. —
 Atque ita, Si precibus, dixerunt,
 numina iustis
 Victa remollescunt, si flectitur ira
 Deorum;
 Dic, Themis, qua generis damnum
 reparabile nostri
 Arte fit: et meritis fer opem, mitis-
 sima, rebus.

High on the summit of this dubious
 cliff,
 Deucalion wasting, moor'd his little
 skiff.

He

Seem'd their petition, than when th' ancient pair 10
 In fables old, less ancient yet than these,
 Deucalion and chaste Pyrrha, to restore
 The race of mankind drown'd, before the shrine
 Of Themis stood devout. To Heav'n their prayers
 Flew up, nor miss'd the way, by envious winds 15
 Blown vagabond or frustrate: in they pass'd

Dimen-

He with his wife were only left
 behind
 Of perish'd man; they two were
 human kind.

The Mountain-Nymphs, and Themis they adore,

And from her oracles relief implore.
 The most upright of mortal men
 was he,

The most sincere and holy woman
 she. —

O righteous Themis, if the Pow'rs
 above

By pray'rs are bent to pity and to
 love;

If human miseries can move their
 mind;

If yet they can forgive, and yet
 be kind;

Tell how we may restore, by second
 birth,

Mankind, and people desolated
 earth. Dryden.

Milton has been often censur'd for his frequent allusions to the Heathen mythology, and for mixing fables with sacred truths: but it may be observed in favor of him, that what he borrows from the Heathen mythology, he commonly applies only by way of similitude; and a similitude

from thence may illustrate his subject as well as from any thing else, especially since it is one of the first things that we learn at school, and is made by the Ancients such an essential part of poetry, that it can hardly be separated from it; and no wonder that Milton was ambitious of showing something of his reading in this kind, as well as in all others.

16. *Blown vagabond or frustrate:*]

It is a familiar expression with the ancient poets, to say of such requests as are not granted, that they are dispersed and driven away by the winds. Thus Virgil, *Æn.* XI. 794.

Audiit, et voti Phœbus succedere
 partem

Mente dedit: partem volucres disperfit in auras.

Sterneret ut subitâ turbatam morte
 Camillam,

Annuit oranti: reducem ut patria
 alta videret,

Non dedit; inque notos vocem vertere procellæ.

Apollo heard, and granting half
 his pray'r,

Shuffled in winds the rest, and toss'd
 in empty air.

He

Dimensionless through heav'nly doors; then clad
 With incense, where the golden altar fum'd,
 By their great intercessor, came in fight
 Before the Father's throne: them the glad Son 20
 Presenting, thus to intercede began.

See, Father, what first fruits on earth are sprung
 From thy implanted grace in Man, these sighs
 And pray'rs, which in this golden censer, mix'd
 With incense, I thy priest before thee bring, 25
 Fruits of more pleasing favor from thy seed
 Sown with contrition in his heart, than those
 Which his own hand manuring all the trees
 Of Paradise could have produc'd, ere fall'n

From

He gives the death desir'd; his safe
 return,

By southern tempests to the seas is
 borne. Dryden.

And it is in allusion to this manner
 of speaking, that Milton says here
 of the prayers of our first parents,
 that they were not *by envious winds*
blown vagabond or frustrate. By *en-*
vious winds, as in Ovid. Met. X. 642.
Detulit aura preces ad me non in-
vida blandas.

17. *Dimensionless through heav'nly*
doors;] As these prayers were
 of a spiritual nature, not as matter
 that has dimensions, measure and
 proportion, they pass'd through

Heaven's gates without any obstruc-
 tion. Richardson.

As Heaven gates are described (VII.
 205, &c.) as *ever-during*, and *moving*
on golden-hinges, and *opening wide to*
let forth and let in the King of Glory,
 it might be wonder'd how these
 prayers could pass thro' them with-
 out their opening, and for this rea-
 son I suppose the poet added the
 epithet *dimensionless*. And as he
 glanc'd before at the Heathen man-
 ner of expression in saying that their
 prayers were not *by envious winds*
blown vagabond or frustrate, so here
 he may intend a remote reflection
 upon that other notion of the Hea-
 thens contained in the fable of Me-
 nippus

From innocence. Now therefore bend thine ear 30
 To supplication, hear his sighs though mute,
 Unskilful with what words to pray, let me
 Interpret for him, me his advocate
 And propitiation; all his works on me
 Good or not good ingraft, my merit those 35
 Shall perfect, and for these my death shall pay.
 Accept me, and in me from these receive
 The smell of peace tow'ard mankind; let him live
 Before thee reconcil'd, at least his days
 Number'd, though sad, till death, his doom, (which I
 To mitigate thus plead, not to reverse) 41
 To better life shall yield him, where with me

All

nippus who was taken up into Heaven, where Jupiter is represented as opening a trap-door to hear the requests of mankind, and shutting it again when he was unwilling to attend to any more petitions.

19. — *came in sight &c.*] Milton, in this allegorical description of the repentant prayers of our first parents, very much exceeds the two great masters of Italian poetry, Ariosto and Tasso, who have attempted something in the same way. See Carlomagno's prayer in the former, Cant. 14. St. 73 and 74. and in the latter Raimond's prayer, Cant. 7. St. 79. and Godfrey's, Cant. 13. St. 72. As the quotations would be

too long, we only refer the reader to the places. *Thyer.*

33. — *me his advocate*
And propitiation;] The construction of the whole passage is this, *Let me interpret for him unskilful with what words to pray for himself, me his advocate and propitiation,* the very words of St. John, 1 Ep. II. 1, 2. *We have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and he is the propitiation for our sins.*

38. *The smell of peace tow'ard mankind;*] The peace offering is frequently call'd an offering of a sweet savor unto the Lord. So Levit. III. 5.
Heylin.

44. *Made*

All my redeem'd may dwell in joy and bliss,
Made one with me as I with thee am one.

To whom the Father, without cloud, serene. 45
All thy request for Man, accepted Son,
Obtain; all thy request was my decree:
But longer in that Paradise to dwell,
The law I gave to nature him forbids:
Those pure immortal elements that know 50
No gross, no unharmonious mixture foul,
Eject him tainted now, and purge him off
As a distemper, gross to air as gross,
And mortal food, as may dispose him best
For dissolution wrought by sin, that first 55
Distemper'd all things, and of incorrupt
Corrupted. I at first with two fair gifts
Created him endow'd, with happiness
And immortality: that fondly lost,
This other serv'd but to eternize woe; 60
Till I provided death; so death becomes

His

44. *Made one with me as I with thee am one.] That they all may be one, as thou Father art in me, and I in thee; and the glory which thou gavest me, I have given them; that they may be one, even as we are one. John XVII. 21, 22.*

53. — gross to air as gross,] *Gross* is to be join'd in construction with *him* and not with *distemper*; and therefore the comma after *distemper* should be carefully preserved, as in Milton's own editions, and not be plac'd after *distemper*

His final remedy, and after life
 Try'd in sharp tribulation, and refin'd
 By faith and faithful works, to second life,
 Wak'd in the renovation of the just, 65
 Resigns him up with Heav'n and Earth renew'd.
 But let us call to synod all the Blest
 Through Heav'n's wide bounds; from them I will not
 My judgments, how with mankind I proceed,
 As how with peccant Angels late they saw, 70
 And in their state, though firm, stood more confirm'd.

He ended, and the Son gave signal high
 To the bright minister that watch'd; he blew
 His trumpet, heard in Oreb since perhaps
 When God descended, and perhaps once more 75
 To sound at general doom. Th' angelic blast
 Fill'd all the regions: from their blissful bowers
 Of amarantin shade, fountain or spring,
 By the waters of life, where'er they sat
 In fellowships of joy, the sons of light 80

Hasted,

temper gross, as in Dr. Bentley's edition.

74. *His trumpet, heard in Oreb since perhaps &c.]* For the law was given on mount Oreb with the noise of the trumpet, Exod. XX. 18. and at the general judgment, Vol. II.

according to St. Paul, 1 Thess. IV. 16. *the Lord shall descend from Heaven with a shout, with the voice of the Arch-Angel, and with the trumpet of God*

78. *Of amarantin shade,]* See III. 353. and the note there.

X

82. *And*

Hasted, resorting to the summons high,
And took their seats; till from his throne supreme
Th' Almighty thus pronounc'd his sovran will.

O Sons, like one of us Man is become
To know both good and evil, since his taste 85
Of that defended fruit; but let him boast
His knowledge of good lost, and evil got,
Happier, had it suffic'd him to have known
Good by itself, and evil not at all.
He sorrows now, repents, and prays contrite, 90
My motions in him; longer than they move,
His heart I know, how variable and vain
Self-left. Left therefore his now bolder hand
Reach also of the tree of life, and eat,

And

82. *And took their seats;*] Dr. Bentley says that if the poet gave it thus, he had forgot himself; for he never makes the Angels to *sit* round the throne of God: But if he never did elsewhere, he has authority for doing so here. I know that it is a maxim with the Schoolmen, *Sola sedet Trinitas*, that only the three persons in the Trinity *sit*: but this is contrary to Scripture; for in Rev. IV. 4. and XI. 16. the four and twenty elders are described as *sitting on seats round about the throne*. There is no occasion then to read with the Doctor *and took their stand*: especially when it is consider'd that the

idea of *taking* suits so much better with *seats* than *stand*. Pearce.

84. *O Sons, &c.*] The assembling of all the Angels of Heaven, to hear the solemn decree pass'd upon Man, is represented in very lively ideas. The Almighty is here describ'd as remembring mercy in the midst of judgment, and commanding Michael to deliver his message in the mildest terms, lest the spirit of Man, which was already broken with the sense of his guilt and misery, should fail before him. Addison.

This whole speech is founded upon the following passage in Genesis III.

And live for ever, dream at least to live 95

For ever, to remove him I decree,

And send him from the garden forth to till

The ground whence he was taken, fitter soil.

Michael, this my behest have thou in charge,

Take to thee from among the Cherubim 100

Thy choice of flaming warriors, lest the Fiend,

Or in behalf of Man, or to invade

Vacant possession, some new trouble raise :

Haste thee, and from the Paradise of God

Without remorse drive out the sinful pair, 105

From hallow'd ground th' unholy, and denounce

To them and to their progeny from thence

Perpetual banishment. Yet lest they faint

At

22, 23, 24. *And the Lord God said, Behold the Man is become as one of us, to know good and evil: And now lest he put forth his hand, and take also of the tree of life, and eat and live for ever; Therefore the Lord God sent him forth from the garden of Eden, to till the ground from whence he was taken. So he drove out the Man: and he placed at the east of the garden of Eden Cherubims and a flaming sword, which turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of life.*

86. *Of that defended fruit;]* Forbidden fruit, from *defendre* (French) to forbid; so used by Chaucer,

Where can you say in any manner
age

That ever God defended marriage?

Hume and Richardson.

99. *Michael, this my behest have thou in charge,]* Our author has with great judgment singled out Michael to receive this charge. It would not have been so proper for the sociable spirit Raphael to have executed this order: but as Michael was the principal Angel employ'd in driving the rebel Angels out of Heaven, so he was the most proper to expel our first parents too out of Paradise.

At the sad sentence rigorously urg'd,
 For I behold them soften'd and with tears 110
 Bewailing their excess, all terror hide.
 If patiently thy bidding they obey,
 Dismiss them not disconsolate; reveal
 To Adam what shall come in future days,
 As I shall thee inlighten; intermix 115
 My covenant in the Woman's seed renew'd;
 So send them forth, though sorrowing, yet in peace:
 And on the east side of the garden place,
 Where entrance up from Eden easiest climbs,
 Cherubic watch, and of a sword the flame 120
 Wide-waving, all approach far off to fright,
 And

111. *Bewailing their excess,*] God is here represented as pitying our first parents, and even while he is ordering Michael to drive them out of Paradise, orders him at the same time to *hide all terror*; and for the same reason he chooses to speak of their offense in the softest manner, calling it only an *excess*, a going beyond the bounds of their duty, by the same metaphor as sin is often call'd *transgression*.

128. ——— *four faces each &c.*] Among the poetical parts of Scripture, which Milton has so finely wrought into this part of his narration, I must not omit that wherein Ezekiel speaking of the Angels who appeared to him in vision, adds that

every one had four faces, and that their whole bodies, and their backs, and their hands, and their wings were full of eyes round about.

Addison.

Dr. Bentley throws out the greatest part of these verses, and reads thus,

— four fac'd were each
 And all their shape spangled with
 eyes. Mean while &c.

His chief objection is to the expression *more wakeful than to drowse*; which (he says) is the same as more vocal than to be mute, more white than to be black. But the whole expression is, *more wakeful than to drowse, charm'd with Arcadian pipe, or opiate rod of Hermes*. When two such powerful causes of *drousing* are mention'd,

And guard all passage to the tree of life :
 Left Paradise a receptacle prove
 To Spirits foul, and all my trees their prey,
 With whose stol'n fruit Man once more to delude. 125

He ceas'd; and th' archangelic Pow'r prepar'd
 For swift descent, with him the cohort bright
 Of watchful Cherubim; four faces each
 Had, like a double Janus, all their shape
 Spangled with eyes, more numerous than those 130
 Of Argus, and more wakeful than to drowse,
 Charm'd with Arcadian pipe, the past'ral reed
 Of Hermes, or his opiate rod. Mean while
 To resalute the world with sacred light

Leu-

mention'd, there is great force in saying, that they were *more wakeful* than to be influenc'd by them.

Pearce.

Ezekiel says that *every one had four faces*, X. 14. The poet adds, *four faces each had, like a double Janus*; Janus was a king in Italy, and is represented with two faces, to denote his great wisdom, looking upon things past and to come; and the mention of a well-known image with two faces may help to give us the better idea of others with four. Ezekiel says X. 12. *And their whole body, and their backs, and their hands, and their wings were full of eyes round about*: The poet expresses it by a delightful metaphor, *all their shape spangled with eyes*, and then adds by

way of comparison *more numerous than those of Argus*, a shepherd who had an hundred eyes, and *more wakeful than to drowse*, as his did, *charm'd with Arcadian pipe, the past'ral reed* that is the past'ral pipe made of reeds, as was that of *Hermes* or *Mercury*, who was employ'd by Jupiter to lull Argus asleep and kill him, or *his opiate rod*, the caduceus of Mercury with which he could give sleep to whomsoever he pleased. With this pipe and this rod he lull'd Argus asleep and cut off his head. It is an allusion to a celebrated story in Ovid, Met. I. 625. &c.

Centum luminibus cinctum caput
 Argus habebat &c.

X 3

135. Leu-

Leucothea wak'd, and with fresh dews imbalm'd 135
The earth, when Adam and first matron Eve

Had

135. *Leucothea wak'd,*] The *White Goddess* as the name in Greek imports, the same with *Matuta* in Latin, as Cicero says, *Leucothea nominata a Græcis, Matuta habetur a nostris.* Tusc. I. 12. *Quæ Leucothea a Græcis, a nobis Matuta dicitur.* De Nat. Deor. III. 19. And *Matuta* is the early morning that ushers in the Aurora rosy with the sun-beams, according to Lucretius, V. 655.

Tempore item certo roseam Matuta
per oras
Ætheris Auroram defert, et lumina
pandit.

And from *Matuta* is deriv'd *matutinus*, early in the morning. This is the last morning in the poem, the morning of the fatal day, wherein our first parents were expell'd out of Paradise. It is impossible to say, how much time is taken up in the action of this poem, since a great part of it lies beyond the sphere of day; and for that part which lies within the sphere of day, it is not easy to state and define the time exactly, since our author himself seems not to have been very exact in this particular. Satan came to earth about noon, when *the full-blazing sun sat high in his meridian tower*, IV. 30. The evening of that first day is describ'd IV. 598.

Now came still evening on &c.

That night Satan tempts Eve in her dream, is discover'd close at her ear, and flies out of Paradise, IV. 1015.

— and with him fled the shades
of night.

Seven days after that he was coasting round the earth, but always in the shade of night, IX. 62.

— thence full of anguish driven,
The space of *sev'n* continued nights
he rode

With darkness.——

But we have no farther account of any of these days, excepting the first, which begins at the beginning of Book V.

Now morn her rosy steps in th'
eastern clime
Advancing &c.

Eve there relates her dream to Adam; they go to work. Raphael is order'd to go, and *converse with Adam half this day as friend with friend*, V. 229. He comes to Paradise at *midnoon*, ver. 311. and 300.

— while now the mounted sun
Shot down direct his fervid rays to
warm
Earth's inmost womb.——

He and Adam converse together, which discourse is related at large in the remainder of Book V, and Book VI, VII, and VIII, till the evening parts them, VIII. 630.

But I can now no more; the part-
ing sun

Beyond the earth's green Cape and
verdant Iles

Hesperian sets, my signal to depart.

This

Had ended now their orisons, and found
Strength added from above, new hope to spring

Out

This is the first of the seven days,
during which Satan was compassing
the earth. *On the eighth he return'd,*
IX. 67. *at midnight,* ver. 58. and
took possession of the serpent *wait-*
ing close th' approach of morn, ver. 191.
Morning is describ'd, ver 192.

Now when as sacred light began
to dawn &c.

Eve is prevail'd upon to eat of the
forbidden fruit a little before noon,
IX. 739.

Mean while the hour of noon drew
on, and wak'd
An eager appetite —

Adam eats likewise; they play, they
sleep, they wake; and Adam re-
proaches Eve with her *desire of wan-*
dring this unhappy morn, IX. 1136.
In the cool of the evening the Mes-
siah comes down to judge them,
X. 92.

Now was the sun in western cadence
low

From noon, and gentle airs due at
their hour

To fan the earth now wak'd, and
usher in

The evening cool; when he from
wrath more cool

Came the mild judge and intercessor
both

To sentence Man.——

Satan fled from his presence, but re-
turn'd by night, ver. 341.

——— *return'd*
By night, and list'ning where the
hapless pair

Sat in their sad discourse, and va-
rious plaint,

Thence gather'd his own doom,
which understood

Not instant, but of future time,
with joy

And tidings fraught, to Hell he now
return'd.

In his return to Hell he meets Sin
and Death in the morning, ver. 329.

— while the sun in Aries rose.

After Sin and Death had arriv'd in
Paradise, the Angels are commanded
to make several alterations in the
Heavens and elements: and Adam
is represented as lamenting aloud to
himself, ver. 846.

Through the still night, not now, as
ere Man fell,

Wholsome and cool, and mild, but
with black air

Accompanied, with damps and
dreadful gloom.

Adam is afterwards made to talk
somewhat confusedly, in one place
as if it was still the day of the fall,
ver. 962.

Since *this day's* death denounc'd, if
ought I see,

Will prove no sudden, but a flow-
pac'd evil.

and in another place as if it was some
day after the fall, ver. 1048.

——— we expected

Immediate dissolution, which we
thought

Was meant by death *that day* &c.

X 4

And

Out of despair, joy, but with fear yet link'd ;
Which thus to Eve his welcome words renew'd. 140

Eve, easily may faith admit, that all
The good which we enjoy, from Heav'n descends;
But that from us ought should ascend to Heaven
So prevalent as to concern the mind
Of God high-blest, or to incline his will, 145
Hard to belief may seem; yet this will prayer
Or one short sigh of human breath, upborne
Ev'n to the seat of God, For since I fought

By

And having felt the cold damps of
the night before, he is considering
how they may provide themselves
with some better warmth and fire be-
fore another night comes, ver. 1069.

— ere this diurnal star
Leave cold the night.

That other night we must now sup-
pose to be past, since the morning
here appears again

To resalute the world with sacred
light :

So that according to the best calcu-
lation we can make, this is the
eleventh day of the poem, we mean
of that part of it which is transacted
within the sphere of day. Mr. Ad-
dison reckons only *ten* days to the
action of the poem, that is he sup-
poses that our first parents were ex-
pell'd out of Paradise the very next
day after the fall; and indeed at first

fight it appears so: But then we can-
not see with what propriety several
things are said, which we have here
quoted; and particularly of the sun's
rising in Aries, when Satan met Sin
and Death at the brink of Chaos;
and if it was still the night after the
fall, how could Adam say, as he is
represented saying,

— which bids us seek
Some better shroud, some better
warmth to cherish
Our limbs benumm'd, *ere this diur-
nal star*
Leave cold the night.

But indeed the author is not very
exact in the computation of time,
and perhaps he affected some ob-
scurity in this particular, and did not
choose to define, as the Scripture
itself has not defin'd, how soon after
the fall it was that our first parents
were driven out of Paradise.

By pray'r th' offended Deity to' appease,
 Kneel'd and before him humbled all my heart, 150
 Methought I saw him placable and mild,
 Bending his ear; persuation in me grew
 That I was heard with favor; peace return'd
 Home to my breast, and to my memory
 His promise, that thy feed shall bruise our foe; 155
 Which then not minded in dismay, yet now
 Assures me that the bitterness of death
 Is past, and we shall live. Whence hail to thee,

Eve

141. *Eve, easily &c.*] An ingenious writer and great admirer of Milton thus descants upon this passage, beginning here, and ending at ver. 152. *Bending his ear*. "How extremely fine is the poetry of this passage! How soft is the beginning, occasion'd by the association of the two first words, *Eve*, *easily*, and of the five next all alliterated with the same vowel, *a*.

— may faith admit that all!

"How solemn is the pause at the first syllable of the third line!
 "But —
 "and the cæsure upon the monosyllable *us* that follows immediately,

But — that from *us* — !

"And the same energy is plainly perceived at the end of the sixth line, where the cæsure is plac'd upon the monosyllable *yet*,

— yet — this will prayer.

"But when we come to that line,

Kneel'd and before him humbled
 all my heart,

"such is the force of the word *kneel'd* in that situation, that we actually see Adam upon his knees before the offended Deity; and by the conclusion of this paragraph — *Bending his ear*, infinite goodness is visibly as it were represented to our eyes as inclining to hearken to the prayers of his penitent creature." See *Letters concerning poetical translations &c.* p. 58, 59.

157. *Assures me that the bitterness of death*

Is past,] Adam is made to talk in the language of Agag, 1 Sam. XV. 32. *And Agag said, Surely the bitterness of death is past.*

159. *Eve*

Eve rightly call'd, mother of all mankind,
 Mother of all things living, since by thee 160
 Man is to live, and all things live for Man.

To whom thus Eve with sad demeanour meek.
 Ill worthy I such title should belong
 To me transgressor, who for thee ordain'd
 A help, became thy snare; to me reproach 165
 Rather belongs, distrust and all dispraise:
 But infinite in pardon was my Judge,
 That I who first brought death on all, am grac'd
 The source of life; next favorable thou,
 Who highly thus to' intitle me vouchsaf'st, 170
 Far

159. *Eve rightly call'd, mother of all mankind,*] Gen. III. 20. *And Adam called his wife's name Eve, because she was the mother of all living.* He call'd her before Ishah, *Woman, because she was taken out of Ish, Man,* Gen. II. 23.

— Woman is her name, of Man
 Extracted —

as it is express'd VIII. 496. But now he denominates her *Eve* or *Havah* from a Hebrew verb which signifies to *live*, in firm belief that God would make her the mother of all mankind, and of the promis'd Seed particularly. Our poet had call'd her *Eve* before by way of anticipation.

175. *Her rosy progress smiling;*] This may serve to confirm what we

observ'd before, that *Leucothea* is the most early morning, that ushers in the *Aurora*; she was pale and *white* before, now she is *rosy* red, with the nearer approach of the sun-beams, agreeably to the quotation that we made from *Lucretius*,

— *roseam Matuta per oras
 Ætheris Auroram* defert.

And the expression of the morn's *beginning her progress* seems to be copied from *Shakespeare*, 1 *Henry IV.* Act III.

— the heav'nly harness'd team
Begins his golden *progress* in the east.

181. *So spake, &c.*] The conference of Adam and Eve is full of moving sentiments. Upon their going abroad after the melancholy night

Far other name deserving. But the field
 To labor calls us now with sweat impos'd,
 Though after sleepless night; for see the morn,
 All unconcern'd with our unrest, begins
 Her rosy progress smiling; let us forth, 175
 I never from thy side henceforth to stray,
 Where'er our day's work lies, though now injoin'd
 Laborious, till day droop; while here we dwell,
 What can be toilsome in these pleasant walks?
 Here let us live, though in fall'n state, content. 180

So spake, so wish'd much-humbled Eve, but fate
 Subscrib'd not; Nature first gave signs, impress'd

On

night which they had passed together, they discover the lion and the eagle pursuing each of them their prey towards the eastern gate of Paradise. There is a double beauty in this incident, not only as it presents great and just omens, which are always agreeable in poetry, but as it expresses that enmity which was now produced in the animal creation. The poet to show the like changes in nature, as well as to grace his fable with a noble prodigy, represents the sun in an eclipse. This particular incident has likewise a fine effect upon the imagination of the reader, in regard to what follows; for at the same time that the sun is under an eclipse, a bright cloud descends in the western quarter of the Heavens, filled with an host of An-

gels, and more luminous than the sun itself. The whole theatre of nature is darken'd, that this glorious machine may appear in all its lustre and magnificence. Addison.

182. *Subscrib'd not*;] That is, assented not, agreed not to it. *Subscribere*, to underwrite, thence to agree to. So the word is sometimes used in Latin: and Milton often uses words according to the Latin idiom. So Ovid, Trist. Lib. I. El. II.

Dii maris et cœli (quid enim nisi vota supersunt?)

Solvere quassatæ parcite membra ratis:

Neve precor magni subscribite Cæsaris iræ.

And Phædrus, Fab. III. X. 57.

Aut gratiæ subscribit, aut odio suo.

And

On bird, beast, air, air suddenly eclips'd
 After short blush of morn; nigh in her sight
 The bird of Jove, stoop'd from his aery tour, 185
 Two birds of gayest plume before him drove:
 Down from a hill the beast that reigns in woods,
 First hunter then, pursu'd a gentle brace,
 Goodliest of all the forest, hart and hind;
 Direct to th' eastern gate was bent their flight. 190
 Adam observ'd, and with his eye the chase
 Pursuing, not unmov'd to Eve thus spake.

O Eve, some further change awaits us nigh,
 Which Heav'n by these mute signs in nature shows,
 Forerunners of his purpose, or to warn 195

Us

And so Shakespear in Measure for Measure, Act II.

Admit no other way to save his life,
 As I *subscribe* not that.

184. — *nigh in her sight*] Dr. Bentley says, Milton gave it, *nigh in their sight*, not in Eve's only, but in the sight of both. But it should rather be *in her sight* here, because it is said afterwards *Adam observ'd &c.*

185. *The bird of Jove, stoop'd from his aery tour, &c.*] *The bird of Jove*, Jovis ales, the eagle. *Stoop'd* is a participle here, and a term of falconry. Such omens are not unusual in the poets, Virg. *Æn.* I. 393.

Aspice his senos lætantes agmine cynos,

Æthereâ quos lapsa plagâ Jovis ales aperto

Turbabat cœlo.

Twelve swans behold in beauteous order move,

And stoop with closing pinions from above;

Whom late the bird of Jove had driv'n along,

And thro' the clouds pursued the scatt'ring throng. Dryden.

And *Æn.* XII. 247.

Namque volans rubrâ fulvus Jovis ales in æthra,

Littoreas agitabat aves, turbamque sonantem

Agminis aligeri.

For

Us haply too secure of our discharge
 From penalty, because from death releas'd
 Some days; how long, and what till then our life,
 Who knows, or more than this, that we are dust,
 And thither must return and be no more? 200
 Why else this double object in our fight
 Of flight pursu'd in th' air, and o'er the ground,
 One way the self-same hour? why in the east
 Darknes ere day's mid-course, and morning light
 More orient in yon western cloud, that draws 205
 O'er the blue firmament a radiant white,
 And slow descends, with something heav'nly fraught?
 He err'd not, for by this the heav'nly bands

Down

For sudden, in the fiery tracts above,
 Appears in pomp th' imperial bird
 of Jove:

A plump of fowl he spies, that swim
 the lakes,

And o'er their heads his founding
 pinions shakes.

Then stooping on the fairest of the
 train &c. Dryden.

But these omens have a singular
 beauty here, as they show the change
 that is produc'd among animals, as
 well as the change that is going to
 be made in the condition of Adam
 and Eve; and nothing could be in-
 vented more apposite and proper for
 this purpose. An eagle, pursuing two
 beautiful birds, and a lion chasing a
 fine hart and hind; and both to the

eastern gate of Paradise; as Adam
 and Eve were to be driven out by
 the Angel at the eastern gate of
 Paradise

204. *Darknes ere day's mid-course,*]

*Et noctis faciem nebulas fecisse vo-
 lucres*

Sub nitido mirata die.

Ov. Met. I. 602. Hume.

204. — *and morning light &c.*]

I think it would not be amiss to re-
 fer the curious reader to Marino's
 description of the descent of the
 three Goddesses upon mount Ida,
 C. 2. St. 67. which is a scene of the
 same sort with this, and painted, I
 think, even in livelier colors than
 this of Milton's. Thyer.

Down from a sky of jasper lighted now
 In Paradise, and on a hill made halt, 210
 A glorious apparition, had not doubt
 And carnal fear that day dimm'd Adam's eye.
 Not that more glorious, when the Angels met
 Jacob in Mahanaim, where he saw
 The field pavilion'd with his guardians bright; 215
 Nor that which on the flaming mount appear'd
 In Dothan, cover'd with a camp of fire,
 Against the Syrian king, who to surprise
 One man, assassin like, had levied war,
 War unproclam'd. The princely Hierarch 220
 In their bright stand there left his Pow'rs to seize
 Possession of the garden; he alone,
 To find where Adam shelter'd, took his way,
 Not unperceiv'd of Adam, who to Eve,

While

213. *Not that more glorious, &c.]* like a base assassin endeavor'd to take
 That was not a more glorious ap- him by surprise, namely Elisha, for
 parition of Angels, which appear'd having disclos'd the designs of the
 to Jacob in Mahanaim. Gen. XXXII. king of Syria to the king of Israel,
 1, 2. *And Jacob went on his way,* 2 Kings VI. 13, &c. *And it was*
and the Angels of God met him: And told him, saying, Behold he is in Do-
when Jacob saw them, he said, This than. Therefore sent he thither horses,
is God's host; and he called the name and chariots, and a great host: and
of that place Mahanaim. Nor that they came by night and compassed the
which appear'd on the flaming mount city about. And when the servant of
in Dothan against the king of Syria, the man of God was risen early, and
when he levied war against a single gone forth, behold an host compassed
man not like a generous enemy, but the city both with horses and chariots:
and

While the great visitant approach'd, thus spake. 225

Eve, now expect great tidings, which perhaps
Of us will soon determin, or impose
New laws to be observ'd; for I descry
From yonder blazing cloud that veils the hill
One of the heav'nly host, and by his gate 230
None of the meanest, some great Potentate
Or of the Thrones above, such majesty
Invests him coming; yet not terrible,
That I should fear, nor sociably mild,
As Raphaël, that I should much confide, 235
But solemn and sublime, whom not to' offend,
With reverence I must meet, and thou retire.

He ended; and th' Arch-Angel soon drew nigh,
Not in his shape celestial, but as man
Clad to meet man; over his lucid arms 240

A

and his servant said unto him, Alas, my master, how shall we do? And he answered, Fear not: for they that be with us are more than they that be with them. And Elisha prayed and said, Lord, I pray thee, open his eyes that he may see. And the Lord opened the eyes of the young man, and he saw: and behold the mountain was full of horses and chariots of fire round about Elisha.

220. *War unproclam'd.*] The severe censure on this makes me fancy

that Milton hinted at the war with Holland, which broke out in 1664, when we surpris'd and took the Dutch Bourdeaux fleet, before war was proclam'd, which the Whigs much exclaim'd against. Warburton.

238. — *th' Arch-Angel soon drew nigh, &c.*] I need not ob-

serve how properly this author, who always suits his parts to the actors whom he introduces, has employ'd Michael in the expulsion of our first parents from Paradise. The Arch-Angel

A military vest of purple flow'd,
 Livelier than Melibœan, or the grain
 Of Sarra, worn by kings and heroes old
 In time of truce; Iris had dipt the woof;
 His starry helm unbuckled show'd him prime 245
 In manhood where youth ended; by his side
 As in a glist'ring zodiac hung the sword,
 Satan's dire dread, and in his hand the spear.
 Adam bow'd low; he kingly from his state
 Inclined not, but his coming thus declar'd. 250

Adam, Heav'n's high behest no preface needs:

Suffi-

Angel on this occasion neither appears in his proper shape, nor in that familiar manner with which Raphael the sociable Spirit entertained the father of mankind before the fall. His person, his post, and behaviour are suitable to a Spirit of the highest rank, and exquisitely described in the following passage.

Addison.

242. *Livelier than Melibœan,*] Of a livelier color and richer dye than any made at *Melibœa*, a city of Thessaly, famous for a fish called *ostrum*, there caught and used in dying the noblest purple.

— *Quam plurima circum
 Purpura Mæandro duplici Melibœa
 cucurrit. Virg. Æn. V. 251.*

Or the grain of Sarra, or the dye of Tyre, named Sarra of Sar, the

Phœnician name of a fish there taken, whose blood made the purple color. Georg. II. 506.

Sarrano indormiat ostro. Hume.

244. — *Iris had dipt the woof;*] A most poetical expression. He had said before, that it was livelier than the Melibœan grain, or than that of Sarra; it excell'd the most precious purple: but now he says that *Iris* herself had given the color, the most beautiful colors being in the rainbow; nay *Iris had dipt the very woof*. He had before made use of a like expression in the *Mask*. The attendant Spirit says,

— But I must first put off
 These my sky robes spun out of *Iris'*
woof.

248. — *and in his hand the spear.*] The construction of this, and the former

Sufficient that thy pray'rs are heard, and Death,
 Then due by sentence when thou didst transgress,
 Defeated of his seizure many days
 Giv'n thee of grace, wherein thou mayst repent, 255
 And one bad act with many deeds well done
 Mayst cover: well may then thy Lord appeas'd
 Redeem thee quite from Death's rapacious clame;
 But longer in this Paradise to dwell
 Permits not; to remove thee I am come, 260
 And send thee from the garden forth to till
 The ground whence thou wast taken, fitter soil.

He

former part of the period is indeed thus: *By his side hung the sword, and the spear in his hand.* The image then is, that as his sword hung loosely in his belt, he carried the spear negligently in his hand, as he advanc'd toward Adam; and perhaps this is the picture intended to be given. But the reader is at liberty to imagine the spear carried in the Angel's hand in what attitude pleases him best, or several; for 'tis common with the Ancients for the verb not to be applicable to all the members of the period. So here *hung* may be restrain'd to the sword only. There is another like instance, IV. 509. *pinus* agrees to *desire* only. Markland on Statius's *Sylv.* I. I. 79. gives several instances of this in the Ancients. *Richardson.*

261. *And send thee from the garden forth to till*

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The ground whence thou wast taken, fitter soil.] It is after the manner of Homer, that the Angel is here made to deliver the order he had receiv'd in the very words he had receiv'd it. Homer's exactness is so great in this kind, that sometimes I know not whether it is not rather a fault. He observes this method not only when orders are given by a superior power, but also when messages are sent between equals. Nay in the heat and hurry of a battle a man delivers a message word for word as he received it: and sometimes a thing is repeated so often that it becomes almost tedious. Jupiter delivers a commission to a Dream, the Dream delivers it exactly in the same words to Agamemnon, and Agamemnon repeats it a third time to the council, tho' it be a tautology of five or six verses together.

He added not, for Adam at the news
 Heart-struck with chilling gripe of sorrow stood,
 That all his senses bound; Eve, who unseen 265
 Yet all had heard, with audible lament
 Discover'd soon the place of her retire.

O unexpected stroke, worse than of Death!
 Must I thus leave thee, Paradise? thus leave
 Thee, native soil, these happy walks and shades, 270
 Fit haunt of Gods? where I had hope to spend,
 Quiet though sad, the respite of that day
 That must be mortal to us both. O flowers,
 That never will in other climate grow,

My

gether. But in the passage before us, here is all the beauty and simplicity of Homer, without any of his faults. Here are only two lines repeated out of one speech, and a third out of another; ver. 48. and here again ver. 259.

But longer in this Paradise to dwell.

And it is a decree pronounced solemnly by the Almighty, and certainly it would not have become the Angel, who was sent to put it in execution, to deliver it in any other words than those of the Almighty. And let me add, that it was the more proper and necessary to repeat the words in this place, as the catastrophe of the poem depends so much upon them, and by them the

fate of Man is determin'd, and *Paradise is lost*.

263. *He added not, for Adam at the news &c.*] How naturally and justly does Milton here describe the different effects of grief upon our first parents! Mr. Addison has already remark'd upon the beauty and propriety of Eve's complaint, but I think there is an additional beauty to be observ'd when one considers the fine contrast which there is betwixt that and Adam's sorrow, which was silent and thoughtful, as Eve's was loud and hasty, both consistent with the different characters of the sexes, which Milton has indeed kept up with great exactness thro' the whole poem. *Thyer.*

268. *O unexpected stroke, &c.*] Eve's complaint, upon hearing that she

My early visitation, and my last 275
 At ev'n, which I bred up with tender hand
 From the first opening bud, and gave ye names,
 Who now shall rear ye to the sun, or rank
 Your tribes, and water from th' ambrosial fount?
 Thee lastly, nuptial bow'r, by me adorn'd 280
 With what to fight or smell was sweet, from thee
 How shall I part, and whither wander down
 Into a lower world, to this obscure
 And wild? how shall we breathe in other air
 Less pure, accustom'd to immortal fruits? 285
 Whom thus the Angel interrupted mild.

Lament

was to be removed from the garden of Paradise, is wonderfully beautiful: the sentiments are not only proper to the subject, but have something in them particularly soft and womanish. *Addison.*
 270. — *native soil,*] *Natale solum,* as the Latins say,

*Nescio qua natale solum dulcedine tangit
 Humanos animos.*

Paradise was the native place of Eve, but Adam was formed out of the dust of the ground, and was afterwards brought into Paradise.

284. — *how shall we breathe in other air*

Less pure, accustom'd to immortal fruits?] Dr. Bentley thinks that some words were here dropt

out of the author's copy, which he supplies thus,

— how shall we breathe in *air less pure?*
What eat, accustom'd to immortal fruits?

He asks, What do the *fruits*, now to be parted with, signify to her *breathing in other air?* But this question does not include all the words necessary for understanding the passage: because those fruits were *immortal* ones, therefore Eve questions how she should be able to *breathe* in less pure air: To eat (for the future) fruits not immortal, and to have air less pure too, were circumstances which might well justify her solicitous inquiry about her breathing in the lower world. *Pearce.*

Lament not, Eve, but patiently resign
 What justly thou hast lost ; nor set thy heart,
 Thus over-fond, on that which is not thine ;
 Thy going is not lonely ; with thee goes 290
 Thy husband ; him to follow thou art bound ;
 Where he abides, think there thy native soil.

Adam by this from the cold sudden damp ,
 Recovering, and his scatter'd spi'rits return'd,
 To Michael thus his humble words addres'd. 295

Celestial, whether among the Thrones, or nam'd
 Of them the high'est, for such of shape may seem
 Prince above princes, gently hast thou told
 Thy message, which might else in telling wound,
 And in performing end us ; what besides 300
 Of sorrow and dejection and despair
 Our frailty can sustain, thy tidings bring,
 Departure from this happy place, our sweet

Recess,

296. *Celestial, whether &c.*] Adam's speech abounds with thoughts, which are equally moving, but of a more masculine and elevated turn. Nothing can be conceived more sublime and poetical than the following passage in it,

This most afflicts me, that departing
 hence &c. *Addison.*

There is the same propriety in these speeches of Adam and Eve, as the

critics have observed in the speeches of Priam and Hecuba to dissuade Hector from fighting with Achilles in the twenty-second book of the Iliad, where the sentiments are excellently adapted to the different characters of the father and mother. And this, says Mr. Pope, puts me in mind of a judicious stroke in Milton, with regard to the several characters of Adam and Eve. When the Angel is driving them both out of

Recess, and only consolation left
 Familiar to our eyes, all places else 305
 Inhospitable' appear and desolate,
 Nor knowing us nor known: and if by prayer
 Incessant I could hope to change the will
 Of him who all things can, I would not cease
 To weary him with my assiduous cries: 310
 But pray'r against his absolute decree
 No more avails than breath against the wind,
 Blown stifling back on him that breathes it forth:
 Therefore to his great bidding I submit.
 This most afflicts me, that departing hence, 315
 As from his face I shall be hid, depriv'd
 His blessed count'nance; here I could frequent
 With worship place by place where he vouchsaf'd
 Presence divine, and to my sons relate,
 On this mount he appear'd, under this tree 320
 Stood

of Paradise, Adam grieves that he must leave a place where he had conversed with God and his Angels; but Eve laments that she shall never more behold the fine flowers of Eden: Here Adam mourns like a man, and Eve like a woman.
 320 On this mount he appear'd, &c.] This has been observed to be very like what our author has written in another place, due allowance being made for the difference of person and subject. " With less fervency
 " was studied what St. Paul or St. John had written, than was listen'd
 " to one that could say, *here he taught, here he stood, this was his stature, and thus he went habited,*
 " and O happy this house that harboured him, and that cold stone whereon he rested, this village wherein he wrought such a miracle, and that pavement bedew'd with the warm effusion of his last blood, that
 " sprouted

Stood visible, among these pines his voice
 I heard, here with him at this fountain talk'd :
 So many grateful altars I would rear
 Of grassy turf, and pile up every stone
 Of lustre from the brook, in memory, 325
 Or monument to ages, and thereon
 Offer sweet smelling gums and fruits and flowers :
 In yonder nether world where shall I seek
 His bright appearances, or foot-step trace?
 For though I fled him angry, yet recall'd 330
 To

"sprouted up into eternal roses to crown
 "his martyrdom." Of Prelatical Epi-
 scopacy, p. 34. Vol. 1. Edit. 1738.
 And both passages very much resem-
 ble the following in Pliny's Pane-
 gyric to Trajan. XV. Veniet ergo
 tempus, quo posterì visere, visendum
 tradere minoribus suis gestient, quis
 sudores tuos hauserit campus, quæ
 refectiones tuas arbores, quæ som-
 num saxa prætexerint, quod denique
 tectum magnus hospes impleveris, &c.

325. ——— in memory,

Or monument to ages,] Dr. Bentley
 asks what difference there is between
memorial and *monument*, that or must
 separate them. I think that by *in*
memory Adam means for a memorial
 to himself, for marks by which he
 might remember the places of God's
 appearance: but because his sons
 (who had not seen God appearing
 there) could not be said to remem-
 ber them; he therefore changes his
 expression and says *Or in monument*

to ages, that is, to warn, teach and
 instruct them that God formerly ap-
 pear'd there to me. The Doctor,
 not perceiving this sense of the pas-
 sage, would read

— from the *brooks* in memory,
 A monument to ages. *Pearce.*

332. Gladly behold though but his
 utmost skirts

Of glory,] He alludes to Exod.
 XXXIII. 22, 23. And it shall come
 to pass while my glory passeth by—
 thou shalt see my back parts, but my
 face shall not be seen: As in what
 follows he had Statius in memory.
 Thebaid. XII. 817.

— and far off his steps adore.

Sed longe sequare, et vestigia semper
 adora.

337. — and every kind that lives,]
 The construction is, *his omnipresence*
fills every kind that lives: Which, if
 true, says Dr. Bentley, was not the
 author's intention. But how it can
 be proved that it was not the au-
 thor's

To life prolong'd and promis'd race, I now
Gladly behold though but his utmost skirts
Of glory, and far off his steps adore.

To whom thus Michael with regard benign.
Adam, thou know'st Heav'n his, and all the Earth,
Not this rock only; his omnipresence fills 336
Land, sea, and air, and every kind that lives,
Fomented by his virtual pow'r and warm'd:
All th' earth he gave thee to possess and rule,
No despicable gift; surmise not then 340

His

thor's intention, when his words so
clearly express it, I am at a loss to
apprehend: And if the Doctor could
really question the truth of the as-
sertion it must be said that the poet
had nobler and more worthy con-
ceptions of God's omnipresence than
the Divine; for *in him we live, and
move, and have our being*, Acts XVII.
28. Another poet has enlarged upon
the same sentiment, with great sub-
limity of thought, and as great
force of language. Essay on Man,
I. 259, &c.

All are but parts of one stupendous
whole,
Whose body Nature is, and God
the soul;
That, chang'd thro' all, and yet in
all the same,
Great in the earth, as in th' ethereal
frame,
Warms in the sun, refreshes in the
breeze,
Glows in the stars, and blossoms in
the trees,

Lives thro' all life, extends thro'
all extent,
Spreads undivided, operates unspent,
Breathes in our soul, informs our
mortal part,
As full as perfect, in a hair, as
heart,
As full, as perfect in vile man that
mourns,
As the rapt Seraph that adores and
burns;
To him, no high, no low, no great,
no small;
He fills, he bounds, connects, and
equals all.

Nay an Heathen poet has a re-
markable passage to this purpose, to
which no doubt Milton alluded.
Lucan. IX. 578.

Eisne Dei sedes nisi terra, et pontus,
et aer,
Et coelum, et virtus? Superos quid
quaerimus ultra?
Jupiter est quodcunque vides, quo-
cunque moveris.

Y 4

344. — and

His presence to these narrow bounds confin'd
 Of Paradise or Eden: this had been
 Perhaps thy capital seat, from whence had spread
 All generations, and had hither come
 From all the ends of th' earth, to celebrate 345
 And reverence thee their great progenitor.
 But this præminence thou' hast lost, brought down
 To dwell on even ground now with thy sons:
 Yet doubt not but in valley and in plain
 God is as here, and will be found alike 350
 Present, and of his presence many a sign
 Still following thee, still compassing thee round
 With goodness and paternal love, his face
 Express, and of his steps the track divine.
 Which that thou may'st believe, and be confirm'd
 Ere thou from hence depart, know I am sent 356
 To show thee what shall come in future days
 To

344. — *and had hither come*] So the first editions, and not *thither*, which is in most of the later ones.

366.

Ascend
This hill;] The Angel afterwards leads Adam to the highest mount of Paradise, and lays before him a whole hemisphere, as a proper stage for those visions which were to be represented on it. I have before observed how the plan of Milton's

poem is in many particulars greater than that of the Iliad or Æneid. Virgil's hero, in the last of these poems, is entertained with a fight of all those who are to descend from him; but though that episode is justly admired as one of the noblest designs in the whole Æneid, every one must allow that this of Milton is of a much higher nature. Adam's vision is not confin'd to any particular tribe

To thee and to thy offspring; good with bad
 Expect to hear, supernal grace contending
 With sinfulness of men; thereby to learn 360
 True patience, and to temper joy with fear
 And pious sorrow, equally inur'd
 By moderation either state to bear,
 Prosperous or adverse: so shalt thou lead
 Safest thy life, and best prepar'd indure 365
 Thy mortal passage when it comes. Ascend
 This hill; let Eve (for I have drench'd her eyes)
 Here sleep below, while thou to foresight wak'st;
 As once thou slep'st, while she to life was form'd.

To whom thus Adam gratefully reply'd. 370
 Ascend, I follow thee, safe Guide, the path
 Thou lead'st me', and to the hand of Heav'n submit,
 However chaf'ning, to the evil turn
 My obvious breast, arming to overcome

By

tribe of mankind, but extends to the whole species. Addison.

367.— let Eve (for I have drench'd her eyes)

Here sleep below,] It may be asked why Eve was not permitted to see this vision, as she had no less occasion than Adam *thereby to learn true patience*: but Milton here only continues the same decorum which he had before observed, when he made

Eve retire upon Raphael's beginning his conference with Adam Book VIII. Besides the tenderness of the female mind could not be supposed able to bear the shocking scenes, which were going to be represented. Thyer.

374. ——— to overcome
 By suffering,] Virg. Æn. V. 710.

Quicquid erit, superanda omnis fortuna ferendo est.

377. In

By suffering, and earn rest from labor won, 375
 If so I may attain. So both ascend
 In the visions of God : It was a hill
 Of Paradise the highest, from whose top
 The hemisphere of earth in clearest ken
 Stretch'd out to th' amplest reach of prospect lay. 380
 Not high'er that hill nor wider looking round,
 Whereon

377. *In the visions of God:] A* Scripture expression. Ezek. VIII. 3. *And the Spirit lift me up between the Earth and the Heaven, and brought me in the visions of God to Jerusalem.* And again, Ezek. XL. 2. *In the visions of God brought he me into the land of Israel, and set me upon a very high mountain.* And these may very properly be call'd *the visions of God* not only for discovering things future, but likewise for the extensiveness of the prospect, such as no human eye could reach. For upon the highest mountain the eye can command only a small part of the hemisphere by reason of the roundness of the earth: but here a whole hemisphere *lay stretch'd out* to view at once like a plain.

381. *Not higher that hill &c.]* That hill was not higher, whereon the Devil set our Saviour (*the second man* 1 Cor. XV. 47. *the last Adam* ver. 45.) to show him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them. Matth. IV. 8. The prospects are well compared together, and the first thought of the one might probably be taken from the other: and as the one makes part of the subject

of Paradise Lost, so doth the other of Paradise Regain'd.

387. — *from the destin'd walls Of Cambalu, &c.]* He first takes a view of Asia, and there of the northern parts, *the destin'd walls* not yet in being but design'd to be (which is to be understood of all the rest) *of Cambalu, seat of Cathaian Can,* the principal City of Cathay, a province of Tartary, the ancient seat of the Chams, and *Samarchand by Oxus,* the chief city of Zagathaian Tartary near the river Oxus, *Temir's throne,* the birth-place and royal residence of Tamerlane; and from the northern he passes to the eastern and southern parts of Asia, *to Paquin or Pekin of Sinæan kings,* the royal city of China, the country of the ancient Sinæ mention'd by Ptolomy, and *thence to Agra and Labor* two great cities in the empire of the great Mogul, down to the golden Chersonese, that is Malacca the most southern promontory of the East Indies, so called on account of its riches to distinguish it from the other Chersoneses or peninsula's, or *where the Persian in Ecbatan sat,* Ecbatana formerly the capital city

Whereon for different cause the Tempter set
 Our second Adam in the wilderness,
 To show him all earth's kingdoms and their glory.
 His eye might there command wherever stood 385
 City of old or modern fame, the seat
 Of mightiest empire, from the destin'd walls
 Of Cambalu, seat of Cathaian Can,

And

city of Persia, or *since in Hispahan*, the capital city at present, or *where the Russian Ksar* the Czar of Muscovy in *Mosco*, the metropolis of all Russia, or *the Sultan in Bizzance*, the Grand Signior in Constantinople formerly Byzantium, *Turcheestan-born*, as the Turks came from Turcheestan a province of Tartary; he reckons these to Asia, as they are adjoining, and great part of their territories lie in Asia. He passes now into Africa; nor could his eye not ken th' empire of *Negus*, the Upper Ethiopia or the land of the Abyssinians, subject to one sovran, stiled in their own language *Negus* or king, and by the Europeans *Prester John*, to his utmost port *Ercoco*, or *Erquico* on the Red Sea, the north east boundary of the Abyssinian empire, and the less maritim kings, the lesser kingdoms on the sea coast, *Mombaza*, and *Quiloa*, and *Melind*, all near the line in Zanguebar, a great region of the Lower Ethiopia on the eastern or Indian sea, and subject to the Portuguese, and *Sofala* thought *Ophir*, another kingdom and city on the same sea mistaken by *Purchas* and others for *Ophir*, whence Solomon

brought gold, to the realm of *Congo*, a kingdom in the lower Ethiopia on the western shore, as the others were on the eastern, and *Angola* farthest south, another kingdom south of Congo; Or thence from *Niger* flood, the river Niger that divides Negroland into two parts, to *Atlas* mount in the most western parts of Africa, the kingdoms of *Almansor*, the countries over which *Almansor* was king, namely *Fex* and *Sus*, *Marocco* and *Algiers*, and *Tremisen*, all kingdoms in Barbary. After Africa he comes to Europe, On Europe thence, and where Rome was to sway the world: the less is said of Europe as it is so well known. In spirit perhaps he also saw, he could not see it otherwise as America was on the opposit side of the globe, rich *Mexico* in North America the seat of *Montezume*, who was subdued by the Spanish general *Cortes*, and *Cusco* in Peru in South America, the richer seat of *Atabalipa*, the last emperor subdued by the Spanish general *Pizarro*, and yet unspoil'd *Guiana*, another country of South America not then invaded and spoil'd, whose great city, namely *Manhoa*, *Geryon's sons*,
 the

And Samarchand by Oxus, Temir's throne,
 To Paquin of Sinæan kings, and thence 390
 To Agra and Lahor of great Mogul
 Down to the golden Cherfoneſe, or where
 The Perſian in Ecbatan ſat, or ſince
 In Hiſpahan, or where the Ruſſian Kſar
 In Moſco, or the Sultan in Bizance, 395
 Turcheſtan-born; nor could his eye not ken
 Th' empire of Negus to his utmoſt port
 Ercoco, and the leſs maritim kings
 Mombaza, and Quiloa, and Melind,
 And Sofala thought Ophir, to the realm 400

Of

the Spaniards from Geryon an ancient king of Spain, call *El Dorado* or the golden city on account of its richneſs and extent. And thus he ſurveys the four different parts of the world, but it muſt be confeſs'd, more with an oſtentation of learning, than with any additional beauty to the poem. But Mr. Thyer is of opinion, that ſuch little fallies of the Muſe agreeably enough diversify the ſcene, and obſerves that Taſſo, whoſe Godfrey is no very imperfect model of a regular epic poem, has in his fifteenth Canto employed thirty or forty ſtanza's together in a deſcription of this ſort, which had no neceſſary connexion with his general plan.

409. — and yet unſpoil'd
Guiana,] I ſuppoſe Milton alluded

to the many fruſtrated voyages, which had been made in ſearch of this golden country. If I remember right, this was the famous place that Sir Walter Raleigh was to have brought ſuch treaſures from. Thyer.

411. — but to nobler ſights

Michael from Adam's eyes the film remov'd,] Theſe which follow are nobler ſights, being not only of cities and kingdoms, but of the principal actions of men to the final conſummation of things. And to prepare Adam for theſe ſights the Angel remov'd the film from his eyes, as Pallas remov'd the miſts from Diomedes his eyes, *Iliad*. V. 127.

Αχλυν δ' αὖ τοι ἀπ' οφθαλμῶν
 ἐλον, ἢ πλεῖν ἐπηρεν,

Ὄφρ' εὖ γινώσκῃς ἡμεν θεόν, ἠδὲ
 καὶ ἀνδρα.

Yet

Of Congo, and Angola farthest south;
 Or thence from Niger stood to Atlas mount
 The kingdoms of Almanzor, Fez and Sus,
 Marocco and Algiers, and Tremisen;
 On Europe thence, and where Rome was to sway
 The world: in spi'rit perhaps he also saw 406
 Rich Mexico the seat of Montezume,
 And Cusco in Peru, the richer seat
 Of Atabalipa, and yet unspoil'd
 Guiana, whose great city Geryon's sons 410
 Call El Dorado: but to nobler fights
 Michael from Adam's eyes the film remov'd,

Which

Yet more, from mortal mists I purge
 thy eyes,
 And set to view the warring Deities.
 Pope.

And as Venus did likewise from those
 of Æneas, Æn. II. 604.

Aspice, namque omnem, quæ nunc
 obducta tuenti
 Mortales hebetat visus tibi, et hu-
 mida circum
 Caligat, nubem eripiam.

Now cast your eyes around; while
 I dissolve
 The mists and films that mortal eyes
 involve,
 Purge from your sight the dross,
 and make you see
 The shape of each avenging Deity.
 Dryden.

And as the same Angel (Michael)
 did also from those of Godfrey.
 Tasso, Cant. 18. St. 93.

Drizza pur gli occhi à riguardar
 l'immenso
 Essercito immortal, ch' è in aria
 accolto:
 Ch' io dinanzi torrotti il nuuol
 denso
 Di vostra humanità, ch' intorno
 auuolto
 Adombrando t' appanna il mortal
 senso,
 Si che vedrai gli ignudi spirti in
 volto:
 E sostener per breue spatio i rai
 De l' angeliche forme anco potrai.
 Lift up thine eyes, and in the air
 behold

The

Which that false fruit that promis'd clearer sight
 Had bred ; then purg'd with euphrasy and rue
 The visual nerve, for he had much to see ; 415
 And from the well of life three drops instill'd.
 So deep the pow'r of these ingredients pierc'd,
 E'en to the inmost seat of mental fight,
 That Adam now enforc'd to close his eyes,
 Sunk down, and all his spi'rits became intranc'd ;
 But him the gentle Angel by the hand 421
 Soon rais'd, and his attention thus recall'd.

Adam, now ope thine eyes, and first behold

Th' ef-

The sacred armies, how they mustered be,
 That cloud of flesh in which for times of old
 All mankind wrapped is, I take from thee,
 And from thy senses their thick mist unfold,
 That face to face thou mayst these Spirits see,
 And for a little space right-well sustain
 Their glorious light, and view those Angels plain. Fairfax.

These passages the poet has imitated and improv'd ; as in what follows of Adam's sinking down overpower'd, and then being rais'd again by the hand gently by the Angel, he has copied from Daniel X. 8, &c. *I saw this great vision, and there remained no strength in me — I was in a deep*

sleep on my face, and my face toward the ground. And behold a hand touched me, which set me upon my knees : or from Rev. I. 17. And when I saw him, I fell at his feet as dead ; and he laid his right hand upon me, saying unto me, Fear not.

414. — purg'd with euphrasy and rue] Cleared the organs of his sight with rue and euphrasy or eye-bright, so named of its clearing virtue. Hume.

Rue was used in exorcisms, and is therefore called herb of grace. Shake-spear, Richard II. Act 3. Scene 7. See too Hamlet, Act 4. Scene 7.

427. Nor sinn'd thy sin,] So in Exod. XXXII. 30. *Ye have sinned a great sin.* 1 John V. 16. *If any man see his brother sin a sin.* And the same manner of speaking has prevail'd among the best classic authors as well as in Scripture. Yet from

Th' effects which thy original crime hath wrought
 In some to spring from thee, who never touch'd 425
 Th' excepted tree, nor with the Snake conspir'd,
 Nor sinn'd thy sin, yet from that sin derivè
 Corruption to bring forth more violent deeds.

His eyes he open'd, and beheld a field,
 Part arable and tilth, whereon were sheaves 430
 New reap'd, the other part sheep-walks and folds;
 I' th' midst an altar as the land-mark stood,
 Rustic, of grassy ford; thither anon
 A sweaty reaper from his tillage brought

First

from that sin derive. The word *sin* is by mistake omitted in Milton's second edition, by which the verse becomes lame and defective.

429. *His eyes he open'd, and beheld a field, &c.*] In this great review which Adam takes of all his sons and daughters, the first objects he is presented with exhibit to him the story of Cain and Abel, which is drawn together with much closeness and propriety of expression. That curiosity and natural horror, which arises in Adam at the sight of the first dying man, is touched with great beauty. Addison.

433. — *of grassy ford;*] That is of turf. The proper word seems to be *sward*, but to be corrupted into *sword* or *sord* as it is commonly pronounced in *green-sord* and *sord of bacon*, which may justify Milton in spelling it *sord*. Some think it is

misprinted for *sod*, turf, of the Belgic *sode*, Italian *terra soda* of *solidum* or *solum*: and Mr. Fenton has caused it to be printed *sod*, as Dr. Bentley has very affectedly *swerd*.

434. *A sweaty reaper from his tillage brought &c.*] It may be proper to compare this account with the sacred history, to which it alludes, Gen. IV. 2. &c. *And Abel was a keeper of sheep, but Cain was a tiller of the ground. And in process of time it came to pass, that Cain brought of the fruit of the ground, an offering unto the Lord. And Abel, he also brought of the firstlings of his flock, and of the fat thereof.* The poet adds, that Cain took the fruits *uncull'd, as came to hand*, whereas Abel selected the *choicest and best* of his flock; and in this some interpreters have conceiv'd the guilt of Cain to consist. The poet too makes them

First fruits, the green ear, and the yellow sheaf,
 Uncull'd, as came to hand; a shepherd next 436
 More meek came with the firstlings of his flock
 Choicest and best; then sacrificing, laid
 The inwards and their fat, with incense strow'd,
 On the cleft wood, and all due rites perform'd. 440
 His offering soon propitious fire from Heaven
 Consum'd with nimble glance, and grateful steam;
 The other's not, for his was not sincere;
 Whereat he inly rag'd, and as they talk'd,
 Smote him into the midriff with a stone 445
 That beat out life; he fell, and deadly pale
 Groan'd out his soul with gushing blood effus'd.
 Much at that fight was Adam in his heart

Dis-

them offer both upon the same altar, for the word *brought* in Scripture (which Milton likewise retains) is understood of their bringing their offerings to some common place of worship: and this altar he makes of turf, of *grassy sord*, as the first altars are represented to be, and describes the sacrifice somewhat in the manner of Homer. The Scripture says only that *the Lord had respect unto Abel, and to his offering; but unto Cain and to his offering he had not respect*: The poet makes this respect unto Abel's offering to be a fire from Heaven consuming it; and herein he is justified by the authority of the

best commentators Jewish and Christian; and there are several instances of such acceptance in Scripture. Cain's was not so accepted, for (says the poet) *his was not sincere. And Cain was very wroth — And Cain talked with Abel his brother, and it came to pass when they were in the field, that Cain rose up against Abel his brother, and slew him.* The poet makes Cain to smite him into the midriff or diaphragm, a nervous muscle separating the breast from the belly, with a stone, supposing it the most natural and the most ready instrument at hand, and so Cowley, David. I. and in his note 16: but however

Dismay'd, and thus in haste to th' Angel cry'd.

O Teacher, some great mischief hath befall'n 450
To that meek man, who well had sacrific'd;
Is piety thus and pure devotion paid?

T' whom Michael thus, he also mov'd, reply'd.
These two are brethren, Adam, and to come
Out of thy loins; th' unjust the just hath slain, 455
For envy that his brother's offering found
From Heav'n acceptance; but the bloody fact
Will be aveng'd, and th' other's faith approv'd
Lose no reward, though here thou see him die,
Rolling in dust and gore. To which our fire. 460

Alas, both for the deed and for the cause!
But have I now seen Death? Is this the way

I

ever he makes his blood to be spill'd, as the Scripture particularly mentions *the blood of Abel*.

Groan'd out his soul with gushing blood effus'd.

Undantique animam diffundit in arma cruore.

Virg. Æn. X. 908.

This is very properly made the first vision, and is so much enlarg'd upon, as it is of Adam's immediate descendents.

458. — and th' other's faith approv'd] It was, according to the author of the epistle to the
VOL. II.

Hebrews, who bears this testimony to it, XI. 4. *By faith Abel offered unto God a more excellent sacrifice than Cain, by which he obtained witness, that he was righteous, God testifying of his gifts; and by it he being dead, yet speaketh.*

462. *But have I now seen Death? Is this the way &c.]* Our

author, in making Adam so ignorant of what death was and the way to it, seems to have forgot what he had put in the mouth of Eve in the preceding book, ver. 1001.

Let us seek Death, or he not found,
supply

Z

With

I must return to native dust? O fight
 Of terror, foul and ugly to behold,
 Horrid to think, how horrible to feel! 465

To whom thus Michaël. Death thou hast seen
 In his first shape on man; but many shapes
 Of Death, and many are the ways that lead
 To his grim cave, all dismal; yet to sense
 More terrible at th' entrance than within. 470
 Some, as thou saw'st, by violent stroke shall die,
 By fire, flood, famine, by intemp'rance more
 In meats and drinks, which on the earth shall bring
 Diseases dire, of which a monstrous crew
 Before thee shall appear; that thou mayst know 475
 What misery th' inabstinence of Eve

Shall

With our own hands his office on — mille ad hanc aditus patent.
 ourselves:

Why stand we longer shivering under fears

That show no end but death, and have the power,

Of many ways to die the shortest choosing,

Destruction with destruction to destroy? Thyer.

467. — but many shapes

Of Death, and many are the ways that lead

To his grim cave,] Senec. Phœnissæ, Act I. 151, 153.

Ubique mors est —

477. — Immediately a place &c.] The second vision sets before him the image of death in a great variety of appearances. The Angel, to give him a general idea of those effects which his guilt had brought upon his posterity, places before him a large hospital or lazaret-house, fill'd with persons lying under all kinds of mortal diseases. How finely has the poet told us that the sick persons languish'd under lingering and incurable distempers, by an apt and judicious use of such imaginary beings as those I mention'd in my last paper!

Shall bring on men. Immediately a place
 Before his eyes appear'd, sad, noisome, dark,
 A lazarus-house it seem'd, wherein were laid
 Numbers of all diseas'd, all maladies 480
 Of ghastly spasm, or racking torture, qualms
 Of heart-sick agony, all feverous kinds,
 Convulsions, epilepsies, fierce catarrhs,
 Intestin stone and ulcer, colic pangs,
 Demoniac phrenzy, moaping melancholy, 485
 And moon-struck madness, pining atrophy,
 Marasmus, and wide-wasting pestilence,
 Dropsies, and asthma's, and joint-racking rheums.
 Dire was the tossing, deep the groans; Despair
 Tended the sick busiest from couch to couch; 490
 And

paper! The passion, which likewise
 rises in Adam on this occasion, is
 very natural. The discourse between
 the Angel and Adam which follows,
 abounds with noble morals.

Addison.

487. *Marasmus,*] The word is
 Greek, and it signifies a kind of
 consumption, accompanied with a
 fever wasting the body by degrees;
 but we should observe that these
 verses,

Demoniac phrenzy, moaping me-
 lancholy,
 And moon-struck madness, pining
 atrophy,

Marasmus, and wide-wasting pesti-
 lence,

were not in the first, but were added
 by the author in the second edition,
 to swell the horror of the description.
 Dr. Bentley is for striking them out
 again, but Mr. Pope says they are
 three admirable lines.

489. *Dire was the tossing, deep the
 groans; Despair &c.*] This
 is entirely in the picturesque manner
 of Spenser, and seems to allude par-
 ticularly to that beautiful passage,
 where describing the way to *Pluto's*
grisly reign, he represents Pain, Strife,
 Revenge, &c. as so many persons
 Z 2 assembling

And over them triumphant Death his dart
 Shook, but delay'd to strike, though oft invoc'd
 With vows, as their chief good, and final hope.
 Sight so deform what heart of rock could long
 Dry-ey'd behold? Adam could not, but wept, 495
 Though not of woman born; compassion quell'd
 His best of man, and gave him up to tears
 A space, till firmer thoughts restrain'd excess,
 And scarce recovering words his plaint renew'd.

O miserable mankind, to what fall
 Degraded, to what wretched state reserv'd!
 Better end here unborn. Why is life given
 To be thus wrested from us? rather why
 Obtruded on us thus? who if we knew

500

What

assembled, and over them sad Horror
 soaring with grim hue, and beating
 his iron wings. Fairy Queen, Book 2.
 Cant. 7. St. 21. to St. 24.

By that way's side there sat infernal
 Pain, &c. Thyer.

The breaks and pauses in this verse
 are admirable; and this beauty is
 improved by each period's begin-
 ning with the same letter *d*.

Dire was the tossing, *deep* the
 groans; *Despair*

Substitute any other word in the
 room of *dire* or *deep*, and you will
 perceive the difference. And then
 follows

And over them triumphant Death
 his dart
 Shook, but delay'd to strike.

As the image is wonderfully fine, so
 it is excellently express'd with the
 pause upon the first syllable of the
 verse, *Shook*. One thinks one almost
 sees the dart shaking. How much
 better is this than Virgil's *Æn. XI.*
 767.

— et certam quatit improbus
 hastam!

If the line was to be alter'd, as thus,
 And o'er them Death triumphant
 shook his dart,

much

Book XI. PARADISE LOST. 357

What we receive, would either not accept 505

Life offer'd, or soon beg to lay it down,

Glad to be so dismiss'd in peace. Can thus

Th' image of God in man created once

So goodly and erect, though faulty since,

To such unfightly sufferings be debas'd 510

Under inhuman pains? Why should not man,

Retaining still divine similitude

In part, from such deformities be free,

And for his Maker's image fake exempt?

Their Maker's image, answer'd Michael, then 515

Forsook them, when themselves they vilify'd

To serve ungovern'd appetite, and took

His image whom they serv'd, a brutish vice,

In-

much of the fire and spirit would be lost. The reader may see other beauties of the same kind in the note upon IV. 351. And there are several examples of it in Homer, but the Latin language seems hardly capable of it; at least I cannot recollect an instance in Virgil, who is the great master of versification.

495. — Adam wept,
Though not of woman born; com-
passion quell'd
His best of man, and gave him up
to tears] This thought (as
Mr. Whalley observes) is certainly
from Shakespear, whose words Mil-

ton has preserved at the close of the sentence.

I had not so much of man about me,
But all my mother came into my
eyes,

And gave me up to tears.

Henry V. Act IV.

517. To serve ungovern'd appetite,]
Appetite here is made a person: and
took his image whom they serv'd, that
is ungovern'd appetite's, a brutish
vice, that was the principal occasion
of the sin of Eve, inductive mainly
to the sin of Eve. How different is
this image from God's image, when
(as we read in IV. 291.)

Z 3

— in

Inductive mainly to the sin of Eve.

Therefore so abject is their punishment, 520

Disfiguring not God's likeness, but their own,

Or if his likeness, by themselves defac'd,

While they pervert pure nature's healthful rules

To loathsome sickness, worthily, since they

God's image did not reverence in themselves. 525

I yield it just, said Adam, and submit.

But is there yet no other way, besides

These painful passages, how we may come

To death, and mix with our connatural dust?

There is, said Michael, if thou well observe 530

The rule of not too much, by temp'rance taught,

In what thou eat'st and drink'st, seeking from thence

Due nourishment, not gluttonous delight,

Till many years over thy head return :

So may'st thou live, till like ripe fruit thou drop 535

Into

— in their looks divine

The image of their glorious Maker
shone,

Truth, wisdom, sanctitude severe
and pure!

531. *The rule of not too much,*
Ne quid nimis.

537. *Gather'd, not harshly pluck'd,
for death mature:]* He seems
to have had in mind this passage of

Cicero De Senect. 19. Et quasi po-
ma ex arboribus, cruda si sint, vi-
avelluntur; si matura et cocta, de-
cidunt: sic vitam adolescentibus vis
aufert, senibus maturitas.

538. — *but then thou must outlive*
&c.] There is something very just
and poetical in this description of
the miseries of old age, so finely con-
trasted as they are with the opposit
pleasures of youth. It is indeed
short,

Into thy mother's lap, or be with ease
 Gather'd, not harshly pluck'd, for death mature:
 This is old age ; but then thou must outlive
 Thy youth, thy strength, thy beauty, which will change
 To wither'd, weak, and gray ; thy senses then 540
 Obtuse, all taste of pleasure must forgo,
 To what thou hast ; and for the air of youth,
 Hopeful and chearful, in thy blood will reign
 A melancholy damp of cold and dry
 To weigh thy spirits down, and last consume 545
 The balm of life. To whom our ancestor.

Henceforth I fly not death, nor would prolong
 Life much, bent rather how I may be quit
 Fairest and easiest of this cumbrous charge,
 Which I must keep till my appointed day 550
 Of rendring up, and patiently attend
 My dissolution. Michaël reply'd.

Nor

short, but vastly expressive, and I think ought to excite the pity as well as the admiration of the reader ; since the poor poet is here no doubt describing what he felt at the time he wrote it, being then in the decline of life, and troubled with various infirmities. *Thyer.*

551. — *and patiently attend My dissolution.*] In the first edition it was thus,

Which I must keep till my appointed day
 Of rendring up. Michael to him reply'd.

But I suppose the author thought that ending too abrupt, and therefore added these words in the second edition, and omitted *to him* for the verse sake.

Nor love thy life, nor hate; but what thou liv'st
Live well, how long or short permit to Heaven:
And now prepare thee for another fight. 555

He look'd, and saw a spacious plain, whereon
Were tents of various hue; by some were herds
Of cattel grazing; others, whence the sound
Of instruments that made melodious chime
Was heard, of harp and organ; and who mov'd 560
Their stops and chords was seen; his volant touch
Instinct through all proportions low and high
Fled and pursu'd transverse the resonant fugue.

In

553. *Nor love thy life, nor hate;*]
Martial. Lib. 10.

Summum nec metuas diem, nec
optes.

554. — *permit to Heaven:*] Per-
mitte Divis. Hor. Od. I. IX. 9.

556. *He look'd, and saw a spacious
plain, &c.*] As there is no-
thing more delightful in poetry than
a contrast and opposition of inci-
dents, the author after this melan-
choly prospect of death and sickness,
raises up a scene of mirth, love, and
jollity. The secret pleasure that
steals into Adam's heart, as he is
intent upon this vision, is imagin'd
with great delicacy. I must not omit
the description of the loose female
troop, who seduced the sons of God,
as they are called in Scripture.

For that fair female troop thou
saw'st, &c. Addison.

557. *Were tents of various hue; &c.*] These were the tents of the posterity of Cain, as the author himself afterwards instructs us; by some were herds of cattel grazing; these belong'd to Jubal, he was the father of such as dwell in tents, and of such as have cattel. Gen. IV. 20. Others, whence the sound was heard of harp and organ; these belong'd to Jubal, he was the father of all such as handle the harp and organ. Gen. IV. 21. In other part stood one at the forge, this was Tubal-cain, an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron. Gen. IV. 22.

562. *Instinct through all proportions
&c.*] His nimble fingers, as if inspired, flew thro' all the various distances of sound, o'er all proportions, low or high, treble or base, and through all its parts followed the sounding symphony, A fugue (of

In other part stood one who at the forge
 Lab'ring, two massy clods of ir'on and brass 565
 Had melted, (whether found where casual fire
 Had wasted woods on mountain or in vale,
 Down to the veins of earth, thence gliding hot
 To some cave's mouth, or whether wash'd by stream
 From underground) the liquid ore he drain'd 570
 Into fit molds prepar'd; from which he form'd
 First his own tools; then, what might else be wrought
 Fusil or grav'n in metal. After these,
 But on the hither side, a different sort

From

(of *fuga* Latin, a flight) is in music the correspondency of parts, answering one another in the same notes, either above or below; therefore exactly and graphically stiled *resonant*, as sounding the same notes over again. *Hume.*

Milton is the more particular in this description, as he was himself a lover of music, and a performer upon the organ.

565. — *two massy clods of iron and brass*

Had melted, (whether found where casual fire

Had wasted woods on mountain or in vale,

Down to the veins of earth, —]

From Lucretius, V. 1240.

Quod superest, æs atque aurum, fer-
 rumque repertum est,

Et simul argenti pondus, plumbique
 potestas;

Ignis ubi ingentes silvas ardore cre-
 mât

Montibus in magnis.

But these verses want emendation. Plumbi potestas is nonsense. The stops should be placed thus:

Et simul argenti pondus, plumbi-
 que, potestas

Ignis ubi ingentes &c.

Argenti pondus plumbique, as in Virgil, argenti pondus et auri. Potestas ignis expresses the consuming power of fire. We have potentia solis in Virgil, and potestates herbarum. *Fortin.*

573. *Fusil or grav'n]* By melting or carving. *Hume.*

573. — *After these,]* As being the descendents of the younger brother, *but on the hither side*, Cain having been banish'd into a more distant country, *a different sort*, the posterity

From the high neighb'ring hills, which was their seat,
 Down to the plain descended: by their guise 576
 Just men they seem'd, and all their study bent
 To worship God aright, and know his works
 Not hid, nor those things last which might preserve
 Freedom and peace to men: they on the plain 580
 Long had not walk'd, when from the tents behold
 A bevy of fair women, richly gay
 In gems and wanton drefs; to th' harp they sung
 Soft amorous ditties, and in dance came on:
 The men though grave, ey'd them, and let their eyes
 Rove without reign, till in the amorous net 586
 Fast caught, they lik'd, and each his liking chose;
 And now of love they treat, till th' evening star,
 Love's harbinger, appear'd; then all in heat

They

posterity of Seth wholly different
 from that of Cain, *from the high
 neighb'ring hills, which was their seat,*
 having their habitation in the moun-
 tains near Paradise, *down to the plain
 descended,* where the Cainites dwelt:
*by their guise just men they seem'd, and
 all their study bent to worship God
 aright,* the Scripture itself speaks
 of them as the worshippers of the
 true God, *and know his works not hid,*
 and Josephus and other writers in-
 form us that they were addicted to
 the study of natural philosophy, and
 especially of astronomy (Joseph. An-

tiq. Lib. 1. c. 2.) *nor those things last*
 (in the first edition it is *lost*, but
 afterwards corrected among the Er-
 rata,) *which might preserve,* nor was
 it their last care and study to know
 those things which might preserve,
freedom and peace to men. Tho' this
 account of the Sethites be in the
 general agreeable to Scripture, yet
 the particulars of their living in the
 mountains near Paradise, and of their
 descending thence into the plain, and
 there corrupting themselves in that
 manner with the daughters of Cain,
 our author seems to have taken from
 the

They light the nuptial torch, and bid invoke 590
 Hymen, then first to marriage rites invok'd:
 With feast and music all the tents resound.
 Such happy interview and fair event
 Of love and youth not lost, songs, garlands, flowers,
 And charming symphonies attach'd the heart 595
 Of Adam, soon inclin'd t' admit delight,
 The bent of nature; which he thus express'd.

True opener of mine eyes, prime Angel blest,
 Much better seems this vision, and more hope
 Of peaceful days portends, than those two past; 600
 Those were of hate and death, or pain much worse,
 Here nature seems fulfill'd in all her ends.

To whom thus Michael. Judge not what is best
 By pleasure, though to nature seeming meet,
 Created,

the oriental writers, and particularly from the Annals of Eutychius.

582. *A bevy of fair women,*] A *bevy* is a company, of the Italian *beva* (says Hume) a covey of partridges. It is a word used by Chaucer, and by Spenser likewise of a company of women, Fairy Queen, B. 2. Cant. 9. Stan. 34.

A lovely *bevy* of fair ladies sat.
 And B. 4. Cant. 10. St. 48.

A *bevy* of fair damsels close did lie.
 And B. 5. Cant. 9. St. 31.

A *bevy* of fair virgins clad in white.

And by Shakespear, Henry VIII. Act I.

—— None here he hopes,
 In all this noble *bevy*, has brought
 with her
 One care abroad.

586. — *till in the amorous net
 Fast caught, they lik'd.*] Dr. Bentley finding *first* in the later editions, says that Milton must have given it *fast*: and so he did in both the editions publish'd in his life-time.

Pearce,
 588. — *till th' evening star, &c.*] See the note on VIII. 519.

614. For

Created, as thou art, to nobler end 605
 Holy and pure, conformity divine.
 Those tents thou saw'st so pleasant, were the tents
 Of wickedness, wherein shall dwell his race
 Who slew his brother; studious they appear
 Of arts that polish life, inventors rare, 610
 Unmindful of their Maker, though his Spirit
 Taught them, but they his gifts acknowledg'd none.
 Yet they a beauteous offspring shall beget;
 For that fair female troop thou saw'st, that seem'd
 Of Goddesses, so blithe, so smooth, so gay, 615
 Yet empty of all good wherein consists
 Woman's domestic honor and chief praise;
 Bred only and completed to the taste
 Of lustful appetite, to sing, to dance,

To

614. *For that fair female troop
 thou saw'st,*] The construc-
 tion is not, as some may apprehend,
For that fair female troop (which)
thou saw'st; but *thou saw'st that*
fair female troop, that seem'd &c.
 which is a sufficient proof of the
 posterity of Cain begetting a beauteous
 offspring.

621. *To these that sober race of
 men, &c.*] As we read in
 Gen. VI. 2. *The sons of God saw the*
daughters of men, that they were fair;
and they took them wives of all which
they chose. It is now generally agreed

that this passage is to be understood
 of the sons of Seth, the worshippers
 of the true God, making matches
 with the idolatrous daughters of
 wicked Cain; and Milton very
 rightly puts this construction upon
 it here, though elsewhere he seems
 to give into the old exploded con-
 ceit of the Angels becoming ena-
 mour'd of the daughters of men.
 See III. 463. and the note there,
 and likewise V. 447. and Parad.
 Reg. II. 178 &c.

627. *The world ere long a world of
 tears must weep.*] Dr. Bent-
 ley

To dress, and troll the tongue, and roll the eye. 620

To these that sober race of men, whose lives

Religious titled them the sons of God,

Shall yield up all their virtue, all their fame

Ignobly, to the trains and to the smiles

Of these fair atheists, and now swim in joy, 625

Erelong to swim at large; and laugh, for which

The world erelong a world of tears must weep.

To whom thus Adam of short joy bereft.

O pity' and shame, that they who to live well

Enter'd so fair, should turn aside to tread 630

Paths indirect, or in the mid way faint!

But still I see the tenor of Man's woe

Holds on the same, from Woman to begin.

From Man's effeminate slackness it begins,

Said

ley observes that this *world* and *world* is a jingle, and that a *world of tears* is a low expression. He would therefore read *a flood of tears*: as Milton speaks in ver. 757. But if this verse be blameable on this account, yet our poet has used the same way of speaking in IX. 11.

That brought into this *world* a *world* of woe,

I think that the foregoing part of this sentence should be pointed thus,

—— and now swim in joy,
Erelong to swim at large; and laugh,
for which

The world erelong a world of tears
must weep.

For *swimming in joy* and *swimming at large* are oppos'd to each other, as are likewise *laughing* and *weeping a world of tears*. Pearce.

As the sense is so much improv'd by this pointing, we cannot but prefer it to Milton's own, which was thus:

—— and now swim in joy
(Erelong to swim at large) and
laugh; for which
The world erelong a world of tears
must weep.

638. He

Said th' Angel, who should better hold his place 635
 By wisdom, and superior gifts receiv'd.
 But now prepare thee for another scene.

He look'd, and saw wide territory spread
 Before him, towns, and rural works between,
 Cities of men with lofty gates and towers, 640
 Concourse in arms, fierce faces threatening war,
 Giants of mighty bone, and bold emprise;
 Part wield their arms, part curb the foaming steed,
 Single or in array of battel rang'd
 Both horse and foot, nor idly must'ring stood; 645
 One way a band select from forage drives
 A herd of beeves, fair oxen and fair kine

From

638. *He look'd, and saw wide territory spread &c.*] The next vision is of a quite contrary nature, and filled with the horrors of war. Adam at the sight of it melts into tears, and breaks out in that passionate speech,

——— O what are these,
 Death's ministers, not men &c. —
Addison.

642. — *emprise*;] An old word for enterprise. It is used in the *Mask*.

Alas! good ventrous Youth,
 I love thy courage yet, and *bold em-
 prise*.

645. — *nor idly must'ring stood*;]
 One can't perceive the pertinence of this without supposing that it hinted

at the circumstances of the land-army at that time. *Warburton.*

651. — *which makes a bloody fray*;]
 So it was alter'd for the better in the second edition; it was *tacks a bloody fray* in the first edition; which is not so plain and intelligible.

660. *In other part the scepter'd heralds call &c.*] It may be noted here once for all, that in this visionary part Milton has frequently had his eye upon his master Homer, and several of the images which are represented to Adam are copies of the descriptions on the shield of Achilles, *Iliad*. XVIII.

His eyes he open'd, and beheld a field;

Part

From a fat meadow ground; or fleecy flock,
 Ewes and their bleating lambs over the plain,
 Their booty; scarce with life the shepherds fly, 650
 But call in aid, which makes a bloody fray;
 With cruel torneament the squadrons join;
 Where cattel pastur'd late, now scatter'd lies
 With carcasses and arms th' infanguin'd field
 Deserted: Others to a city strong 655
 Lay siege, incamp'd; by battery, scale, and mine,
 Assaulting; others from the wall defend
 With dart and javelin, stones and sulphurous fire;
 On each hand slaughter and gigantic deeds.
 In other part the scepter'd heralds call 660

To

Part arable and tilth, whereon were
 sheaves
 New reap'd, the other part sheep-
 walks and folds.
 Is not this Homer's description a
 little contracted? ver. 550 ὅς.

Εν δ' ἐτιθεῖ τεμενὶ βαθυληϊόν·
 ἐνθα δ' εἰβοι

Ἡμῶν, ὅξεια δρεπανας ἐν χερσὶν
 ἐχούσας.

Δραγματά δ' ἄλλα μετ' οὔμον
 ἐπητρίμα πῖπλον ἐραζε,
 Ἄλλα δ' ἀμαλλοδέτηρες ἐν ἐλλε-
 δανοῖσι δέοντο.

Another field rose high with waving
 grain;

With bended sickles stand the
 reaper-train.

Here stretch'd in ranks the level'd
 swarths are found,

Sheaves heap'd on sheaves, here
 thicken up the ground. Pope.

And ver. 587 ὅς.

Εν δὲ νομόν ποιεῖσε περικλυτῶ
 Ἀμφιγυῖαις

Εν καλῇ βῆσῃ μέγαν οἶον ἀργεν-
 ναῶν,

Σταθμῆστε, κλισίαιστε, κατηρε-
 φεας ἰδε σῆκας.

Next this, the eye the art of Vulcan
 leads

Deep thro' fair forests, and a length
 of meads;

And stalls, and folds, and scatter'd
 cotts between,

And fleecy flocks that whiten all
 the scene.

The

To council in the city gates : anon
 Gray-headed men and grave, with warriors mix'd,
 Assemble, and harangues are heard, but soon
 In factious opposition, till at last

Of

The vision of marriages,
 They light the nuptial torch, and
 bid invoke
 Hymen, then first to marriage rites
 invok'd :
 With feast and music all the tents
 resound.

Is it not a most beautiful and exact
 copy of Homer? ver. 491, &c.

— *Εν τῇ μὲν ρα γάμοι τ' ἔσαν,
 εἰλαπιναιτε·*

*Νυμφὰς δ' ἐκ θαλάμων, δαΐδων
 ὑπολαμπομέναων,*

*Ἡγινεον ἀνα αὖ· πολὺς δ' ὕμε-
 ναι· ὄρωρει·*

*Κερεὶ δ' ὀρχήσῃρες ἐδίνεον, ἐν δ'
 ἀρχαῖς τοῖσιν*

Αὐλοὶ, φορμιγγέστε βόην ἔχον· —

Here sacred pomp, and genial feast
 delight,

And solemn dance, and hymenæal
 rite ;

Along the street the new-made brides
 are led,

With torches flaming, to the nup-
 tial bed :

The youthful dancers in a circle
 bound

To the soft flute, and cittern's sil-
 ver found.

And in like manner the driving away
 of the sheep and oxen from forage,
 and the battel which thereupon en-
 sues may be compared with the fol-
 lowing passage in Homer : ver. 527
 &c.

*Οἱ μὲν τὰ περὶ δούλῃς ἐπεδραμον,
 ὦκα δ' ἐπεῖτα*

*Ταρνοντ' ἀμφὶ βοῶν ἀγέλας καὶ
 πῶεα καλὰ*

*Ἀργεννῶν οἴων· κλῆινον δ' ἐπὶ μῆ-
 λοβοτήρας.*

*Οἱ δ' ὥς ἐν ἐπυθούῳ πόλυν κελα-
 δὸν παρὰ βεσίν,*

*Ἰεῶν περπαροῖθε καθήμενοι, αἰ-
 τικ' ἐφ' ἵππων*

*Βάντες αερίποδων μετεκταθόν·
 αἰψὰ δ' ἰκδύλο.*

*Στήσαμενοι δ' ἐμαχοντο μάχην
 ποταμοῖο παρ' ὀχθῆας.*

In arms the glitt'ring squadron rising
 round,

Rush sudden ; hills of slaughter heap
 the ground,

Whole flocks and herds lie bleeding
 on the plains,

And, all amidst them, dead, the
 shepherd swains.

The bellowing oxen the besiegers
 hear,

They rise, take horse, approach, and
 meet the war ;

They fight, they fall, beside the
 silver flood,

The waving silver seem'd to blush
 with blood.

The representation of the city be-
 sieg'd here in Milton,

— Others to a city strong
 Lay siege, incamp'd ; &c.

the

Of middle age one rising, eminent 665
In wise deport, spake much of right and wrong,
Of justice, of religion, truth and peace,
And judgment from above: him old and young

Ex-

the reader will find to be a very great improvement upon that in Homer, ver. 509 Ἑρ.

Τὴν δ' ἑτέραν πολλὴν ἀμφὶ δύο
ἑρῶτο ἑκάτο λαῶν
Τευχέσι λαμπομενοί·

Another part (a prospect differing far)

Glow'd with refulgent arms, and horrid war.

Two mighty hosts a leaguer'd town embrace, Ἑρ.

As the council in the one

In other part the scepter'd heralds call

To council in the city gates: anon Gray-headed men and grave, with warriors mix'd,

Asssemble, and harangues are heard, Ἑρ.

seems to be of much more importance than that in the other, ver. 503 Ἑρ.

Κηρυκεὶ δ' ἄρα λαὸν ἐρητύον, οἳ
δὲ γερὸν ἦεν
Ἐἵατ' ἐπὶ ξυστοῖσι λίθοις, ἱέρω ἐνὶ
κυκλῶ·

Σκηπτέρα δὲ κηρυκῶν ἐν χερσὶ
ἔχον ἡρώωνων·

Τοῖσιν ἐπεὶ νῆστον, ἀμοιβῆδ' ἵκεν
δ' ἐδῖκαζον·

Th' appointed heralds still the noisy bands,

And form a ring, with scepters in their hands;

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On seats of stone, within the sacred place,
The rev'rend elders nodded o'er the case;
Alternate, each th' attesting scepter took,
And rising solemn, each his sentence spoke.

The description of the shield of Achilles is certainly one of the finest pieces of poetry in the whole Iliad, and our author has plainly shown his admiration and affection for it by borrowing so many scenes and images from it: but I think we may say that they do not like other copies fall short of the originals, but generally exceed them, and receive this additional beauty, that they are most of them made representations of real histories and matters of fact.

661. To council in the city gates:] For there assemblies were anciently held, and the judges used to sit, Gen. XXXIV. 20. Deut. XVI. 18. XXI. 19. Zech. VIII. 16.

665. Of middle age one rising,] Enoch said to be of middle age, because he was translated when he was but 365 years old; a middle age then. Gen. V. 23. Richardson.

668. And judgment from above:] It appears from holy Writ, that he was not only a good man, and walked with God, Gen. V. 24. but that he
A a re-

Exploded and had feis'd with violent hands,
 Had not a cloud descending snatch'd him thence 670
 Unseen amid the throng: so violence
 Proceeded, and oppreffion, and fword-law
 Through all the plain, and refuge none was found.
 Adam was all in tears, and to his guide
 Lamenting turn'd full fad; O what are these, 675
 Death's minifters, not men, who thus deal death
 Inhumanly to men, and multiply
 Ten thoufandfold the fin of him who flew
 His brother: for of whom fuch massacre
 Make they but of their brethren, men of men? 680
 But who was that juft man, whom had not Heaven
 Refcued, had in his righteoufnefs been loft?

To whom thus Michael. Thefe are the product
 Of

remonstrated likewise againft the wickednefs of mankind, and denounc'd the heavy judgment of God upon them, Jude 14. *Behold the Lord cometh with ten thoufands of his Saints, to execute judgment upon all &c:* which the poet alludes to more plainly afterwards, ver. 704.

— that God would come
 To judge them with his Saints. —

683. *To whom thus Michael. Thefe are the product*] The accent upon the word *product* is to be varied *product* or *produkt*, according as you

pronounce the word *Michael* with two or three fyllables.

688. *Such were thefe giants, men of high renown;*] Gen. VI. 4. *There were giants in the earth in thofe days; and alfo after that, when the fons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them: the fame became mighty men, which were of old, men of renown.* Some commentators underftand by the word which we tranflate *giants*, men of large bulk and ftature; others conceive them to be no more than robbers and tyrants: Our author includes

Of those ill mated marriages thou saw'st ;
 Where good with bad were match'd, who of themselves
 Abhor to join; and by imprudence mix'd, 686
 Produce prodigious births of body' or mind.
 Such were these giants, men of high renown ;
 For in those days might only shall be' admir'd,
 And valor and heroic virtue call'd ; 690
 To overcome in battel, and subdue
 Nations, and bring home spoils with infinite
 Man-slaughter, shall be held the highest pitch
 Of human glory, and for glory done
 Of triumph, to be stil'd great conquerors, 695
 Patrons of mankind, Gods, and sons of Gods,
 Destroyers rightlier call'd and plagues of men.
 Thus fame shall be achiev'd, renown on earth,

And

includes both interpretations, and leaves the choice to the reader, *prodigious births of body or mind.*

691. *To overcome in battel, &c.*] This character drawn more masterly in Parad. Reg. III. 71.

They err who count it glorious &c.
 Warburton.

694. — and for glory done
Of triumph, to be stil'd great conquerors,] Milton had said before that it *shall be held the highest pitch of glory, to subdue nations and bring home their spoils:* and here he

adds (for this I take to be his sense) that it shall be held *the highest pitch of triumph for that glory obtain'd, to be stil'd great conquerors.* So that though I approve of Dr. Bentley's changing *done* into *won*, I cannot agree to his altering *Of triumph* to *Or triumph.* Pearce.

This is one of the most difficult passages. I am not satisfied with the conjectures of either of these learned men, and see no other way of understanding it but this. *To overcome, to subdue, to spoil, shall be held the highest pitch of glory, and shall be*
 A a 2 done

And what most merits fame in silence hid.
 But he the sev'nth from thee, whom thou beheldst
 The only righteous in a world perverse, 701
 And therefore hated, therefore so beset
 With foes for daring single to be just,
 And utter odious truth, that God would come
 To judge them with his Saints: him the most High
 Rapt in a balmy cloud with winged steeds 706
 Did,

done for glory of triumph, shall be achiev'd for that end and purpose, to be sil'd great conquerors &c.

700. *But he the sev'nth from thee,]*
 Jude 14. *And Enoch also the seventh from Adam &c.*

707. *Did, as thou saw'st, receive,]*
 It is commonly apprehended from a passage in Mr. Pope's Essay on Criticism, that all auxiliary verbs are mere expletives,

While expletives their feeble aid
do join.

But this I believe Mr. Pope never intended to advance. Milton has used them in many places, where he could have avoided it if he had pleased. I will produce one,

Did, as thou saw'st, receive —

Milton might have said

Receiv'd, as thou hast seen, —

But he thought the auxiliary verb added strength to the expression, as indeed it does. I own where the

auxiliary verb is brought close to its principal, and that a thin monosyllable, as in the line just now referred to, the verse is very rude and disagreeable. But to prove that the auxiliary verb may be employ'd properly, I will produce an instance in rim'd verse, as strong as that of Milton just mention'd,

Then *did* the roaring waves their
 rage compose,
 When the great father of the flood
 arose. Pitt's first *Æneid*.

I believe it will not be disputed, but that this line is as full, as sonorous, and majestic as if the auxiliary verb had been left out, and the author had used *compos'd* instead of *did compose*. The expression is certainly more beautiful and more poetical; and the reason of it is, that it occasions suspense, which raises the attention; or in other words, the auxiliary verb gives notice of something coming, before the principal thing itself appears, which is another property of majesty. Mr. Dryden's authority might likewise be added

Did, as thou saw'st, receive, to walk with God
 High in salvation and the climes of bliss,
 Exempt from death; to show thee what reward
 Awaits the good, the rest what punishment; 710
 Which now direct thine eyes and soon behold.

He look'd, and saw the face of things quite chang'd;
 The brazen throat of war had ceas'd to roar;
 All now was turn'd to jollity and game,

To

added on this occasion; even in his celebrated lines on Milton it is to be met with,

Greece, Italy, and England *did* adorn.

In his translation of the *Æneid* there are many instances of the same nature, one of which I will mention,

The queen of Heav'n *did* thus her fury vent.

The meter of this line, as the words are here rang'd, is not bad, as the ear can judge; but it would have been extremely so, if he had writ it thus,

The queen of Heav'n her fury thus *did* vent.

From whence it appears that the auxiliary verb is not to be rejected at all times; besides it is a particular idiom of the English language, and has a majesty in it superior to the Latin or Greek tongue, and I believe to any other language whatsoever. Many instances might be brought to support this assertion

from great authorities. I shall produce one from Shakespear,

— this to me

In dreadful secrecy impart they *did*.

The auxiliary verb is here very properly made use of; and it would be a great loss to English poetry, if it were to be wholly laid aside. See *Letters concerning poetical translations* &c. p. 8, 9, 10.

711. Which now direct thine eyes and soon behold.] The syntax is remarkable. Which govern'd not by the verb next following, but by the last in the sentence.

712. He look'd, and saw the face of things quite chang'd;] Milton, to keep up an agreeable variety in his visions, after having raised in the mind of his reader the several ideas of terror which are conformable to the description of war, passes on to those softer images of triumphs and festivals, in that vision of lewdness and luxury, which ushers in the flood. Addison.

A a 3

723. — preach'd

To luxury and riot, feast and dance, 715
 Marrying or prostituting, as besel,
 Rape or adultery, where passing fair
 Allur'd them; thence from cups to civil broils.
 At length a reverend fire among them came,
 And of their doings great dislike declar'd, 720
 And testify'd against their ways; he oft
 Frequented their assemblies, wherefo met,
 Triumphs or festivals, and to them preach'd
 Conversion and repentance, as to souls
 In prison under judgments imminent: 725
 But all in vain: which when he saw, he ceas'd

Con-

723. ——— preach'd
Conversion and repentance, as to souls
In prison] This account of Noah's
 preaching is founded chiefly upon
 St. Peter, 2 Pet. II. 5. *Noah a*
preacher of righteousness, and 1 Pet.
 III. 19, 20. *By which also he went*
and preached unto the spirits in prison,
which sometime were disobedient,
when once the long-suffering of God
waited in the days of Noah: As what
 follows of Noah's desisting when he
 found his preaching ineffectual, and
 removing into another country, is
 taken from Josephus, Antiq. Lib. 1.

c. 3.

730. *Measur'd by cubit, length, and*
breadth, and height,] The
 dimensions of the ark are given
 Gen. VI. 15. *The length of the ark*
shall be three hundred cubits, the

breadth of it fifty cubits, and the height
of it thirty cubits. A cubit is the
 measure from the elbow to the fin-
 gers ends, and is reckon'd a foot
 and a half, or (according to Bishop
 Cumberland) 21 inches 888 decimals.

731. *Smear'd round with pitch, and*
in the side a door &c.] Gen.
 VI. 14. *Thou shalt pitch it within*
and without with pitch; and the door
of the ark shall thou set in the side
thereof. ver. 16. *And take thou unto*
thee of all food that is eaten, and thou
shalt gather it to thee; and it shall be
for food for thee and for them.

732. — and of provisions laid in
 large] He uses the adjective
 adverbially here and elsewhere, as is
 common in Latin. *Magnumque flu-*
entem Nilum. Virg. Georg. III. 28.
Sole recens orto. Georg. III. 156.

735. Come

Contending, and remov'd his tents far off;
 Then from the mountain hewing timber tall,
 Began to build a vessel of huge bulk, 729
 Measur'd by cubit, length, and breadth, and highth,
 Smear'd round with pitch, and in the side a door
 Contriv'd, and of provisions laid in large
 For man and beast: when lo a wonder strange!
 Of every beast, and bird, and insect small
 Came sev'ns, and pairs, and enter'd in, as taught 735
 Their order: last the fire, and his three sons
 With their four wives; and God made fast the door.
 Mean while the southwind rose, and with black wings
 Wide

735. *Came sev'ns, and pairs,*] *Sevens* of clean creatures, and *pairs* of unclean. For this and other particulars here mention'd, See Gen. VII.

738. *Mean while the southwind rose, &c.*] As it is visible that the poet had his eye upon Ovid's account of the universal deluge, the reader may observe with how much judgment he has avoided every thing that is redundant or puerile in the Latin poet. We do not see here the wolf swimming among the sheep, nor any of those wanton imaginations, which Seneca found fault with, as unbecoming the great catastrophe of nature. If our poet has imitated that verse in which Ovid tells us that there was nothing but sea, and that this sea had no shore to it, he has not set the thought in

such a light as to incur the censure which critics have pass'd upon it. The latter part of that verse in Ovid is idle and superfluous, but just and beautiful in Milton:

Jamque mare et tellus nullum discrimen habebant,
 Nil nisi pontus erat, deerant quoque littora ponto.

—— Sea cover'd sea,
 Sea without shore.——

In Milton the former part of the description does not forestall the latter. How much more great and solemn on this occasion is that which follows in our English poet,

—— and in their palaces
 Where luxury late reign'd, sea-monsters whelp'd
 And stabled ——

A a 4

than

Wide hovering, all the clouds together drove
 From under Heav'n; the hills to their supply 740
 Vapor, and exhalation dusk and moist,
 Sent up amain; and now the thicken'd sky
 Like a dark cieling stood; down rush'd the rain

Im-

than that in Ovid, where we are told that the sea-calves lay in those places where the goats were used to browse? The reader may find several other parallel passages in the Latin and English description of the deluge, wherein our poet has visibly the advantage. The sky's being overcharged with clouds, the descending of the rains, the rising of the seas, and the appearance of the rainbow, are such descriptions as every one must take notice of. The circumstance relating to Paradise is so finely imagin'd, and suitable to the opinions of many learned authors, that I cannot forbear giving it a place in this paper;

— then shall this mount
 Of Paradise by might of waves be
 mov'd &c.

The transition which the poet makes from the vision of the deluge, to the concern it occasion'd in Adam, is exquisitely graceful, and copied after Virgil, though the first thought it introduces is rather in the spirit of Ovid,

How didst thou grieve then, Adam,
 to behold &c.

I have been the more particular in my quotations out of the eleventh

book of Paradise Lost, because it is not generally reckon'd among the most shining books of this poem; for which reason the reader might be apt to overlook those many passages in it which deserve our admiration. The eleventh and twelfth are indeed built upon that single circumstance of the removal of our first parents from Paradise; but tho' this is not in itself so great a subject as that in most of the foregoing books, it is extended and diversified with so many surprising incidents and pleasing episodes, that these two last books can by no means be looked upon as unequal parts of this divine poem. I must further add, that had not Milton represented our first parents as driven out of Paradise, his fall of man would not have been complete, and consequently his action would have been imperfect.

Addison.

The reader may farther compare the following passages with Milton, and he will easily see the superiority of the English poet. Ovid. Met. I. 264.

— Madidis notus evolat alis,
 Terribilem piceâ testus caligine
 vultum.

Utque manu latâ pendentia nubila
 preffit,

Fit

Impetuous, and continued till the earth
 No more was seen ; the floating vessel swum 745
 Uplifted, and secure with beaked prow
 Rode tilting o'er the waves ; all dwellings else
 Flood overwhelm'd, and them with all their pomp
 Deep

Fit fragor ; hinc denſi funduntur ab
 æthere nimbi.

Nuncia Junonis varios induta co-
 lores

Concipit Iris aquas, alimentaſque
 nubibus adfert. —

Expatiata ruunt per apertos flumina
 campos ;

Cumque ſatis arbuſta ſimul, pecu-
 deſque, viroſque,

Tectaſque, cumque ſuis rapiunt pe-
 netrاليا ſacris.

The ſouth he loos'd, who night and
 horror brings ;

And fogs are ſhaken from his ſlaggy
 wings ;

Still as he ſwept along, with his
 clench'd fiſt

He ſqueez'd the clouds, th' im-
 priſon'd clouds reſiſt :

The ſkies from pole to pole with
 peals reſound ;

And ſhow'rs enlarg'd come pouring
 on the ground.

Then, clad in colors of a various
 dye,

Junonian Iris breeds a new ſupply
 To feed the clouds : impetuous rain
 deſcends —

Th' expanded waters gather on the
 plain :

They ſtole the fields, and overtop
 the grain ;

Then ruſhing onwards with a ſweepy
 ſway,

Bear flocks and folds, and lab'ring
 hinds away,

Nor ſafe their dwellings were, for
 ſapt by floods,

Their houſes fell upon their houſ-
 hold Gods. Dryden.

Is it not juſter and better to ſay, that
*the ſouth-wind blew all the clouds toge-
 ther from under Heaven*, than that
*he ſqueez'd the clouds with his broad
 hand* ? and is it not a more philo-
 ſophical account, that *the hills ſent
 up vapor and exhalation to their
 ſupply*, than that *the rainbow ſupplied
 them with nourishment* ? and is there
 not more majeſty in this ſhort and
 full deſcription, that *the floods over-
 whelm'd all dwellings, and them with
 all their pomp deep under water roll'd*,
 than in mentioning ſo particularly
 and minutely *the floods ſweeping away
 corn, and trees, and cattel, and men,
 and houſes, with their houſhold Gods* ?
 and yet theſe are none of the leaſt
 ſhining paſſages in the Latin poet.

743. *Like a dark cieling ſtood ;*
 Cieling may be thought too mean a
 word in poetry, but Milton had a
 view to its derivation from Cœlum
 (Latin) Cielo (Italian) Heaven.

Richardſon.

752. — of

Deep under water roll'd; sea cover'd sea,
 Sea without shore; and in their palaces 750
 Where luxury late reign'd, sea-monsters whelp'd
 And stabled; of mankind, so numerous late,
 All left, in one small bottom swum imbark'd.
 How didst thou grieve then, Adam, to behold
 The end of all thy offspring, end so sad, 755
 Depopulation? thee another flood,
 Of tears and sorrow' a flood thee also drown'd,
 And sunk thee as thy sons; till gently rear'd
 By th' Angel, on thy feet thou stood'st at last,
 Though comfortless, as when a father mourns 760
 His children, all in view destroy'd at once;
 And scarce to th' Angel utter'dst thus thy plaint.

O visions ill foreseen! better had I

Liv'd

752. — of mankind, so numerous late,

All left, in one small bottom swum imbark'd.]

See Vida's *Christ.* L. 1.

Omnibus hic pauci extinctis mortalibus ibant

Inclusi ligno summas impune per undas. *Thyer.*

765. — each day's lot

Enough to bear;] *Matth.* VI. 34. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.

766. — dispens'd

The burd'n of many ages,] Distributed, dealt out in parcels, to be a sufficient burden, the load of many ages. *Dispensare* from *penso* to weigh; thence comes the word *pensum*, the quantity of wool that was weigh'd out to the maids to spin, thence it means a task in general, and to dispense is to distribute these tasks to every one. The word is used with great propriety, and in the true antique sense. See also III. 579.

Richardson.

770. Let no man seek &c.] This monition was not impertinent at a time

Liv'd ignorant of future, so had borne
 My part of evil only, each day's lot 765
 Enough to bear; those now, that were dispens'd
 The burd'n of many ages, on me light
 At once, by my foreknowledge gaining birth
 Abortive, to torment me ere their being,
 With thought that they must be. Let no man seek
 Henceforth to be foretold what shall befall 771
 Him or his children; evil he may be sure,
 Which neither his foreknowing can prevent,
 And he the future evil shall no less
 In apprehension than in substance feel 775
 Grievous to bear: but that care now is past,
 Man is not whom to warn: those few escap'd
 Famine and anguish will at last consume

Wand'ring

time when the folly of casting nat- et tu pereas. Terence. Eun. Homo
 ivities was still in use. Warburton. neque meo judicio stultus, et suo
 773. Which neither his foreknowing valde sapiens. Cicero De Oratore.

can prevent.] Dr. Bentley 777. — those few escap'd
 says that nothing follows as sequel Famine and anguish will at last con-
 to neither, and supposes he gave it, sume]

Which never his foreknowing can prevent.

But neither is not always follow'd by nor, but sometimes by and; and I wonder the Doctor should object to this manner of speaking, when it is so frequent and so elegant in Latin. Vide quid agas, ne neque illi prodis,

Maxima pars undâ rapitur; quibus unda pepercit,
 Illos longa domant inopi jejunia victu. Ovid. Met. I. 311.

The most of mortals perish in the flood,
 The small remainder dies for want of food. Dryden.

798. Shall

Wand'ring that watry desert: I had hope
 When violence was ceas'd, and war on earth, 780
 All would have then gone well, peace would have
 crown'd

With length of happy days the race of man;
 But I was far deceiv'd; for now I see
 Peace to corrupt no less than war to waste.
 How comes it thus? unfold, celestial Guide, 785
 And whether here the race of man will end.
 To whom thus Michael. Those whom last thou saw'st
 In triumph and luxurious wealth, are they
 First seen in acts of prowess eminent
 And great exploits, but of true virtue void; 790
 Who having spilt much blood, and done much waste
 Subduing nations, and achiev'd thereby
 Fame in the world, high titles, and rich prey,
 Shall change their course to pleasure, ease, and sloth,
 Surfeit, and lust, till wantonness and pride 795
 Raise out of friendship hostile deeds in peace.
 The conquer'd also, and enslav'd by war
 Shall with their freedom lost all virtue lose

And

798. *Shall with their freedom lost* where shows his love of liberty, and
all virtue lose] Milton every here he observes very rightly that
 the

And fear of God, from whom their piety feign'd
In sharp contest of battel found no aid 800
Against invaders; therefore cool'd in zeal
Thencefore shall practice how to live secure,
Worldly or dissolute, on what their lords
Shall leave them to enjoy; for th' earth shall bear
More than enough, that temp'rance may be try'd:
So all shall turn degenerate, all deprav'd, 806
Justice and temp'rance, truth and faith forgot;
One man except, the only son of light
In a dark age, against example good,
Against allurements, custom, and a world 810
Offended; fearless of reproach and scorn,
Or violence, he of their wicked ways
Shall them admonish, and before them set
The paths of righteousness, how much more safe,
And full of peace, denouncing wrath to come 815
On their impenitence; and shall return
Of them derided, but of God observ'd
The one just man alive; by his command
Shall build a wondrous ark, as thou beheldst,

To

the loss of liberty is soon follow'd by There are such sentiments in several
the loss of all virtue and religion. parts of his prose-works, as well as
in

To save himself and household from amidst
A world devote to universal wrack.

820

No sooner he with them of man and beast
Select for life shall in the ark be lodg'd,

And shelter'd round, but all the cataracts

Of Heav'n set open on the earth shall pour

825

Rain day and night; all fountains of the deep

Broke up, shall heave the ocean to usurp

Be-

in Aristotle and other masters of politics.

821. *A world devote to universal wrack.*] Devote is used here and elsewhere as devoted: And in Milton's own editions it is *universal rack*, but we have printed it *wrack* to distinguish it from *rack* the instrument of torture; and we have Milton's authority for so doing, for he has printed it so himself in VI. 670, in both his editions:

— and now all Heav'n
Had gone to *wrack* &c.

It is probable that both words were originally of the same extraction; but as the different senses have been so long distinguish'd by different spelling, it is proper to preserve this distinction in order to avoid ambiguity and confusion. And for the same reason we spelt differently *wracking* in II. 182. and *racking* in XI. 481.

824. — all the cataracts
Of Heav'n set open on the earth
shall pour

Rain day and night; all fountains
of the deep

Broke up,] Gen. VII: 11. *The same day were all the fountains of the great deep broken up, and the windows of Heaven were open'd.* The windows of Heaven are translated the cataracts in the Syriac and Arabic versions, and in the Septuagint and Vulgar Latin, which Milton here follows; and what they are, those will best understand who have seen the fallings of waters, called *spouts*, in hot countries, when the clouds do not break into drops, but fall with terrible violence in a torrent: and *the great deep* is the vast abyss of waters contain'd within the bowels of the earth, and in the sea.

829. — then shall this mount

Of Paradise &c.] It is the opinion of many learned men, that Paradise was destroy'd by the deluge, and our author describes it in a very poetical manner. *Push'd by the borned flood*, so that it was before the flood became universal, and while it pour'd along like a vast river; for rivers when they meet with any thing to ob-

Beyond all bounds, till inundation rise
 Above the highest hills: then shall this mount
 Of Paradise by might of waves be mov'd
 Out of his place, push'd by the horned flood,
 With all his verdure spoil'd, and trees adrift,
 Down the great river to the opening gulf,
 And there take root an iland salt and bare,
 The haunt of seals, and orcs, and sea-mews clang:

To

obstruct their passage, divide themselves and become *horned* as it were, and hence the ancients have compared them to bulls.

Sic tauriformis volvitur Aufidus.
Hor. Od. IV. XIV. 25.

Et gemina auratus taurino cornua vultu

Eridanus. Virg. Georg. IV. 371.

Corniger Hesperidum fluvius regnator aquarum. Æn. VIII. 77.

Down the great river to the opening gulf, down the river Tigris or Euphrates to the Persian gulf: they were both rivers of Eden, and Euphrates particularly is called in Scripture the great river, the river Euphrates, Gen. XV. 18. It is very probable that our author took the first thought of pushing Paradise by the force of floods into the sea from Homer, who describes the destruction of the Grecian wall by an inundation very much in the same poetical manner, Iliad. XII. 24.

Τῶν πάντων ὁμοσε σωματ' ἐτραπέ
 Φοῖβος Ἀπολλων,

Εννημαρ δ' ἐς τεύχε' ἰεήροον ὕε
 δ' ἄρα Ζεὺς

Συνεχες, ὄρεα καὶ θαλάσσης ἀλιπλοα
 τεύχεα θείη. κ. τ. λ.

Those turn'd by Phœbus from their wonted ways,

Delug'd the rampire nine continual days;

The weight of waters saps the yielding wall,

And to the sea the floating bulwarks fall:

Incessant cataracts the thund'rer pours,

And half the skies descend in sluicy show'rs, &c. Pope.

835. — *and orcs,*] Orca est genus marinæ belluæ maximum. Fest. The word occurs frequently in Ariosto.

Heylin.

835. — *and sea-mews clang:]* So also in VII. 422. *with clang despois'd the ground*, adopting the clangor of the Latins, which is a word that they almost constantly use to express the noise made by the flight of large flocks of birds. Thyer.

836. Te

To teach thee that God attributes to place 836
 No sanctity, if none be thither brought
 By men who there frequent, or therein dwell.
 And now what further shall ensue, behold.

He look'd, and saw the ark hull on the flood, 840
 Which now abated; for the clouds were fled,
 Driv'n by a keen north-wind, that blowing dry

Wrinkled

836. *To teach thee that God attributes to place*

No sanctity, &c.] Milton omits no opportunity of lashing what he thought superstitious. These lines may serve as one instance, and I think he plainly here alludes to the manner of consecrating churches used by Archbishop Laud, which was prodigiously clamor'd against by people of our author's way of thinking, as superstitious and popish. *Thyer.*

840. — *the ark hull on the flood,]*
 A ship is said to *hull* when all her sails are taken down, and she flotes to and fro. *Richardson.*

841. *Which now abated; for the clouds were fled,*

Driv'n by a keen north-wind,] The Scripture says only that *God made a wind to pass over the earth*; it is most probable that it was a north-wind, as that is such a drying wind: but our poet follows Ovid in this as well as several other particulars, Met. I. 328.

Nubila disjecit; nimisque Aquilone remotis,

Et cælo terras ostendit, et æthera terris, —

*Jam mare littus habet; plenos capit alveus amnes;
 Flumina subsidunt; colles exire videntur;
 Surgit humus; crescunt loca decrescentibus undis.*

He loos'd the northern wind; fierce Boreas flies
 To puff away the clouds, and purge the skies:

Serenely, while he blows, the vapors driv'n,
 Discover Heav'n to earth, and earth to Heav'n. —

A thin circumference of land appears;

And earth, but not at once, her visage rears,

And peeps upon the seas from upper grounds;

The streams, but just contain'd within their bounds,

By slow degrees into their channels crawl;

And earth increases as the waters fall. *Dryden.*

843. *Wrinkled the face of deluge, as decay'd;]* This allusive comparison of the surface of the decreasing

Wrinkled the face of deluge, as decay'd ;
 And the clear sun on his wide watry glaſs
 Gaz'd hot, and of the freſh wave largely drew, 845
 As after thirſt, which made their flowing ſhrink
 From ſtanding lake to tripping ebb, that ſtole
 With ſoft foot tow'ards the deep, who now had ſtopt
 His fluces, as the Heav'n his windows ſhut.

The

creaſing waters, wrinkled by the wind, to the wrinkles of a decaying old age is very far fetch'd and extremely boyiſh; but the author makes us ample amends in the remaining part of this deſcription of the abating of the flood. The circumſtances of it are few, but ſeleſted with great judgment, and expreſs'd with no leſs ſpirit and beauty. In this reſpect, it muſt be own'd, Milton greatly excels the Italians, who are generally too prolix in their deſcriptions, and think they have never ſaid enough whiſt any thing remains unſaid. When once enough is ſaid to excite in the reader's mind a proper idea of what the poet is repreſenting, whatever is added, however beautiful, ſerves only to teize the fancy inſtead of pleaſing it, and rather cools than improves that glow of pleaſure, which ariſes in the mind upon its firſt contemplation of any ſurpriſing ſcene of nature well painted out. Of this Milton was very ſenſible, and throughout his whole poem has ſcarcely ever been hurried by his imagination into any thing inconfiſtent with it.

Thyer.

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846. — *which made their flowing ſhrink*] Their I ſuppoſe refers to *wave* before mention'd, as a noun of multitude, of the plural number. It is not eaſy to account for the ſyntax otherwiſe.

847. *From ſtanding lake to tripping ebb,*] Tripping from *tripudiare*, to dance, to ſtep lightly upon the toes, a natural deſcription of *ſoft-ebbing*, as VII. 300. and ſo it follows, *that ſtole with ſoft foot*, this bold perſonizing is perpetually uſ'd by the Greek, and conſequently the Latin poets, who always imitate them, Hor. Epod. XVI. 47

— montibus altis

Levis crepante lymphæ deſilit pede.

Richardſon.

848. — *the deep, who now had ſtopt His fluces, as the Heav'n his windows ſhut.*] Gen VIII. 2. *The fountains alſo of the deep, and the windows of Heaven were ſtopped.* For this and other particulars of the ark reſting upon the mountains of Ararat, and of the raven, and of the dove &c, ſee the ſame chapter.

B b

850. — *ſtoles,*

The ark no more now flotes, but seems on ground
 Fast on the top of some high mountain fix'd. 851
 And now the tops of hills as rocks appear ;
 With clamor thence the rapid currents drive
 Tow'ards the retreating sea their furious tide.
 Forthwith from out the ark a raven flies, 855
 And after him, the furer messenger,
 A dove sent forth once and again to spy
 Green tree or ground whereon his foot may light ;
 The second time returning, in his bill
 An olive leaf he brings, pacific sign : 860
 Anon dry ground appears, and from his ark
 The ancient fire descends with all his train ;
 Then with uplifted hands, and eyes devout,
 Grateful to Heav'n, over his head beholds
 A dewy cloud, and in the cloud a bow 865
 Conspicuous with three list'd colors gay,
 Betokening peace from God, and covenant new.

Whereat

850. — *flotes,*] This is the right way of spelling the word, as it comes from the French *floter*.

860. *An olive leaf he brings, pacific sign:*] Sign of peace, of God's mercy to mankind; the olive was sacred to Pallas, and borne by those that sued for peace, as being the emblem of it and plenty :

— *placitam paci nutritor olivam.*
 Virg. Georg. II. 425. *Hume.*

Add this likewise,

*Paciferæque manu ramum præten-
 dit olivæ.* Æn. VIII. 116.

866. *Conspicuous with three list'd colors gay,*] He afterwards calls it the *triple-color'd bow*, ver. 897.

Whereat the heart of Adam erst so sad
Greatly rejoic'd, and thus his joy broke forth.

O thou who future things canst represent 870
As present, heav'nly Instructor, I revive
At this last sight, assur'd that man shall live
With all the creatures, and their seed preserve.

Far less I now lament for one whole world
Of wicked sons destroy'd, than I rejoice 875

For one man found so perfect and so just,
That God vouchsafes to raise another world
From him, and all his anger to forget.

But say, what mean those color'd streaks in Heaven
Distended as the brow of God appeas'd, 880

Or serve they as a flow'ry verge to bind
The fluid skirts of that same watry cloud,
Lest it again dissolve and show'r the earth?

To whom th' Arch-Angel. Dextrously thou aim'st;
So willingly doth God remit his ire, 885

Though

897. and he means probably the
three principal colors, red, yellow,
and blue, of which the others are
compounded.

Though late repenting him of man
deprav'd,
Griev'd at his heart, —

884. *To whom th' Arch-Angel. &c.*
The reader will easily observe how
much of this speech is built upon
Scripture.

*And it repented the Lord that he had
made man on the earth, and it grieved
him at his heart, Gen. VI. 6.*

— when looking down he saw
The

Though late repenting him of man deprav'd,
 Griev'd at his heart, when looking down he saw
 The whole earth fill'd with violence, and all flesh
 Corrupting each their way; yet those remov'd,
 Such grace shall one just man find in his sight, 890
 That he relents, not to blot out mankind,
 And makes a covenant never to destroy
 The earth again by flood, nor let the sea
 Surpass his bounds, nor rain to drown the world

With

The whole earth fill'd with violence, and all flesh
 Corrupting each their way;—

The earth also was corrupt before God, and the earth was filled with violence. And God looked upon the earth, and behold it was corrupt; for all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth, ver. 11, 12.

Such grace shall one just man find
 in his sight,

But Noah found grace in the eyes of the Lord, ver. 8.

And makes a covenant never to
 destroy

The earth again by flood,—

And I will establish my covenant with you, neither shall all flesh be cut off any more by the waters of a flood, neither shall there any more be a flood to destroy the earth. Gen. IX. 11.

— but when he brings

Over the earth a cloud, will therein
 set

His triple-color'd bow, whereon to
 look,

And call to mind his covenant:—

And it shall come to pass when I bring a cloud over the earth, that the bow shall be seen in the cloud: and I will look upon it that I may remember the everlasting covenant between God and every living creature of all flesh that is upon the earth, ver. 14, 16.

— day and night,

Seed-time and harvest, heat and
 hoary frost

Shall hold their course,——

While the earth remaineth, seed-time and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night shall not cease, Gen. VIII. 22.

— till fire purge all things new,
 Both Heav'n and Earth, wherein
 the just shall dwell.

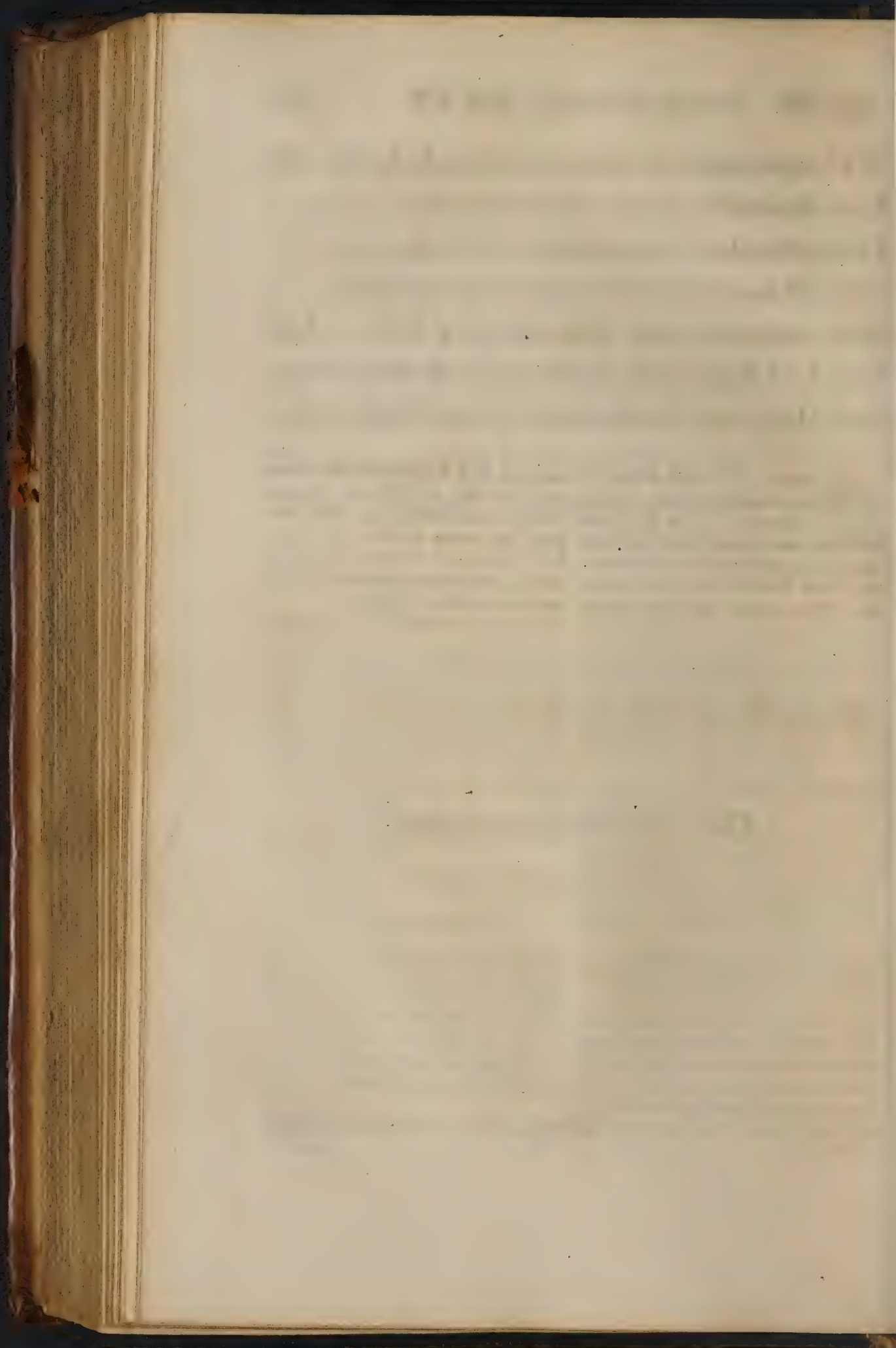
The Heavens being on fire shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat: nevertheless we, according to his promise, look for new Heavens and a new Earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness, 2 Pet. III. 12, 13.

895. With

With man therein or beast; but when he brings 895
 Over the earth a cloud, will therein set
 His triple-color'd bow, whereon to look,
 And call to mind his covenant: day and night,
 Seed-time and harvest, heat and hoary frost 899
 Shall hold their course, till fire purge all things new,
 Both Heav'n and Earth, wherein the just shall dwell.

895. *With man therein or beast;*] *man and beast* comprehend the birds too: see Psal. XXXVI. 6. Jerem. XXI. 6. and XXXII. 43. And our poet has twice before (ver. 733, 822.) spoken of all the inhabitants of the ark under this very title of *man and beast*. Pearce.

The end of the Eleventh Book.



THE
TWELFTH BOOK
OF
PARADISE LOST.

Bb 4

THE ARGUMENT.

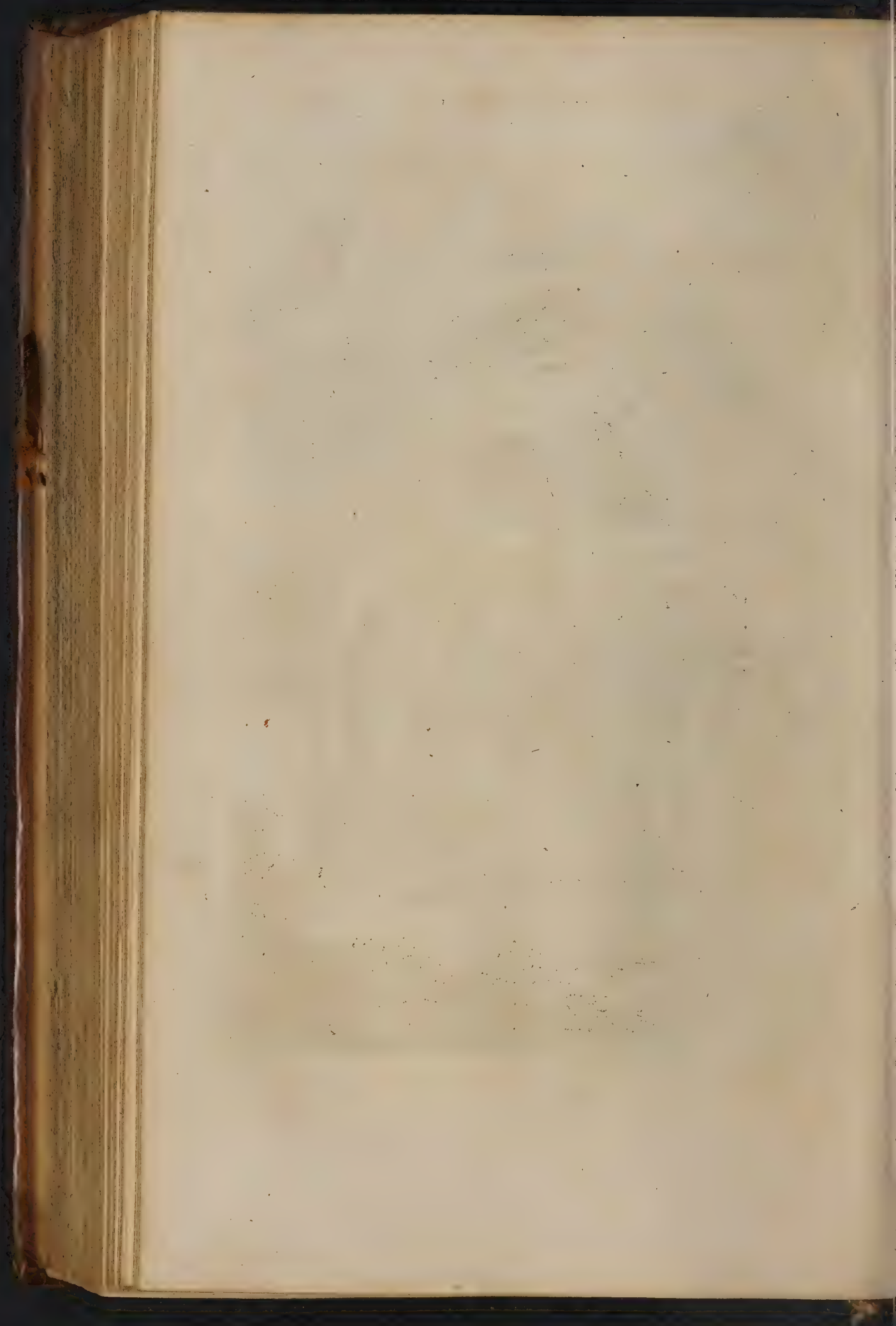
The Angel Michael continues from the flood to relate what shall succeed; then, in the mention of Abraham, comes by degrees to explain, who that Seed of the Woman shall be, which was promised Adam and Eve in the fall; his incarnation, death, resurrection, and ascension; the state of the church till his second coming. Adam greatly satisfied and recomforted by these relations and promises descends the hill with Michael; wakens Eve, who all this while had slept, but with gentle dreams compos'd to quietness of mind and submission. Michael in either hand leads them out of Paradise, the fiery sword waving behind them, and the Cherubim taking their stations to guard the place.



Fr. Hayman inv. et del.

J. S. Müller sc.

Book 12.



PARADISE LOST.

B O O K XII.

AS one who in his journey bates at noon,
 Though bent on speed; so here the Arch-
 Angel paus'd

Betwixt the world destroy'd and world restor'd,
 If Adam ought perhaps might interpose;
 Then with transition sweet new speech resumes. 5

Thus thou hast seen one world begin and end;
 And man as from a second stock proceed.
 Much thou hast yet to see, but I perceive
 Thy mortal fight to fail; objects divine
 Must needs impair and weary human sense: 10
 Henceforth what is to come I will relate,

Thou

1. *As one &c.*] In the first edition, before the last book was divided into two, the narration went on without any interruption; but upon that division in the second edition, these first five lines were inserted. This addition begins the book very gracefully, and is indeed (to apply the author's own words) a *sweet transition*.

11. *Henceforth what is to come I will relate,*] Milton, after having represented in vision the

history of mankind to the first great period of nature, dispatches the remaining part of it in narration. He has devised a very handsome reason for the Angel's proceeding with Adam after this manner; though doubtless the true reason was the difficulty which the poet would have found to have shadowed out so mixed and complicated a story in visible objects. I could wish, however, that the author had done it, whatever pains it might have

Thou therefore give due audience, and attend.
 This second source of men, while yet but few,
 And while the dread of judgment past remains
 Fresh in their minds, fearing the Deity,
 With some regard to what is just and right
 Shall lead their lives, and multiply apace,
 Lab'ring the soil, and reaping plenteous crop,

15

Corn

have cost him. To give my opinion freely, I think that the exhibiting part of the history of mankind in vision, and part in narrative, is as if an history-painter should put in colors one half of his subject, and write down the remaining part of it. If Milton's poem flags any where, it is in this narration, where in some places the author has been so attentive to his divinity, that he has neglected his poetry. The narration however rises very happily on several occasions, where the subject is capable of poetical ornaments, as particularly in the confusion which he describes among the builders of Babel, and in his short sketch of the plagues of Egypt. *Addison.* Mr. Addison observes, that *if Milton's poem flags any where, it is in this narration*; and to be sure, if we have an eye only to poetic decoration, his remark is just: but if we view it in another light, and consider in how short a compass he has compris'd, and with what strength and clearness he has express'd the various actings of God

towards mankind, and the most sublime and deep truths both of the Jewish and Christian theology, it must excite no less admiration in the mind of an attentive reader, than the more spritely scenes of love and innocence in Eden, or the more turbulent ones of angelic war in Heaven. This contrivance of Milton's to introduce into his poem so many things posterior to the time of action fix'd in his first plan, by a visionary prophetic relation of them, is, it must be allow'd, common with our author to Virgil and most epic poets since his time; but there is one thing to be observ'd singular in our English poet, which is, that whereas they have all done it principally, if not wholly, to have an opportunity of complimenting their own country and friends, he has not the least mention of, or friendly allusion to his. The Reformation of our Church from the errors and tyranny of popery, which corruptions he so well describes and pathetically laments, afforded him occasion fair enough, and no doubt his

Corn wine and oil; and from the herd or flock,
 Oft sacrificing bullock, lamb, or kid, 20
 With large wine-offerings pour'd, and sacred feast,
 Shall spend their days in joy unblam'd, and dwell
 Long time in peace by families and tribes
 Under paternal rule: till one shall rise
 Of proud ambitious heart, who not content 25
 With

his not doing it must be imputed to his mind's being so unhappily imbitter'd, at the time of his writing, against our government both in church and state; so that to the many other mischiefs flowing from the grand rebellion we may add this of its depriving Britain of the best panegyric it is ever likely to have. *Thyer.*

16. *With some regard to what is just and right*] This answers to the silver age of the poets, the Paradisiacal state is the golden one. That of iron begins soon, ver. 24. *Richardson.*

24. — *till one shall rise &c.*] It is generally agreed that the first governments in the world were patriarchal, *by families and tribes*, and that Nimrod was the first who laid the foundations of kingly government among mankind. Our author therefore (who was no friend to kingly government at the best) represents him in a very bad light as a most wicked and insolent tyrant, but he has great authorities, both Jewish and Christian, to justify him

for so doing. The Scripture says of Nimrod, Gen. X. 9. that *he was a mighty hunter before the Lord*: And this our author understands in the worst sense, of hunting men and not beasts — *and men not beasts shall be his game*. But several commentators understand it in the same manner, and the Scripture applies the word to hunting of men by persecution, oppression, and tyranny. Jer. XVI. 16. Lam. IV. 18. Ezek. XIII. 18, 20. And so the Jerusalem Targum here expounds it of *a sinful hunting of the sons of men*. The phrase *before the Lord* seems to be perfectly indifferent in itself, and made use of only by way of exaggeration: but in this place the greatest number of interpreters take it in a bad sense, in the same manner as when it is said of the men of Sodom that they were *sinners before the Lord*, Gen. XIII. 13. as also of Er the eldest son of Judah that he was *wicked in the sight of the Lord*, Gen. XXXVIII. 7. And St. Austin in particular would have it translated not *before the Lord* but *against the Lord*.

With fair equality, fraternal state,
 Will arrogate dominion undeserv'd
 Over his brethren, and quite dispossess
 Concord and law of nature from the earth,
 Hunting (and men not beasts shall be his game) 30
 With war and hostile snare such as refuse
 Subjection to his empire tyrannous :
 A mighty hunter thence he shall be stil'd
 Before the Lord, as in despite of Heaven,
 Or from Heav'n claiming second sovranity; 35
 And from rebellion shall derive his name,
 Though of rebellion others he accuse.

He

Lord. Our author, in conformity to this opinion, says

Before the Lord, as in despite of Heaven,

but then takes in the other interpretation of Vatablus and others, that *before the Lord* is the same as *under the Lord*, usurping all authority to himself next under God, and claiming it Jure divino, as was done in Milton's own time;

Or from Heav'n claiming second sovranity;

claiming, so Milton spells the word in this place, and so he spells *re-clame* in VI. 791. and so all of that family should be spelt, *declame*, ex-

clame, proclame, &c. being derived from the Latin *clamo* and the French *clamer*.

And from rebellion shall derive his name,

for the name Nimrod, tho' more favorable etymologies are given, yet commonly is derived from the Hebrew word *marad* which signifies to *rebel*; and this probably was the principal occasion of those injurious reports which have prevailed in the world concerning him.

Though of rebellion others he accuse.

This was added by our author probably not without a view to his own time, when himself and those of

He with a crew, whom like ambition joins
 With him or under him to tyrannize,
 Marching from Eden tow'ards the west, shall find 40
 The plain, wherein a black bituminous gurge
 Boils out from under ground, the mouth of Hell :
 Of brick, and of that stuff they cast to build
 A city' and tow'r, whose top may reach to Heaven;
 And get themselves a name, lest far dispers'd 45
 In foreign lands their memory be lost,
 Regardless whether good or evil fame.
 But God who oft descends to visit men
 Unseen, and through their habitations walks

To

of his party were stigmatiz'd as
 the worst of rebels.

40. *Marching from Eden towards
 the west, &c.] Gen. XI. 2*
&c. And it came to pass as they jour-
neyed from the east, that they found a
plain in the land of Shinar — And
they had brick for stone, and slime had
they for mortar. And they said, Go
to, let us build us a city and a tower,
whose top may reach unto Heaven, and
let us make us a name, lest we be scat-
tered abroad upon the face of the whole
earth. The Hebrew chemar which
we translate slime is what the Greeks
call asphaltus and the Latins bitu-
men, a kind of pitch; and that it
abounded very much in the plain

near Babylon, that it swam upon
 the waters, that there was a cave
 and fountain continually emitting
 it, and that this famous tower at
 this time, and the no less famous
 walls of Babylon afterwards were
 built with this kind of cement, is
 confirm'd by the testimony of sever-
 al profane authors. This *black bi-*
tuminous gurge, this pitchy pool the
 poet calls *the mouth of Hell*, not
 strictly speaking, but by the same
 sort of figure by which the ancient
 poets call Tænarus or Avernus the
 jaws and gate of Hell,

Tænarias etiam fauces, alta ostia
 Ditis. Virg. Georg. IV. 467.

51. Comes

To mark their doings, them beholding soon, 50
 Comes down to see their city, ere the tower
 Obstruct Heav'n-tow'rs, and in derision sets
 Upon their tongues a various spi'rit to raise
 Quite out their native language, and instead
 To sow a jangling noise of words unknown: 55
 Forthwith a hideous gabble rises loud
 Among the builders; each to other calls
 Not understood, till hoarse, and all in rage,
 As mock'd they storm; great laughter was in Heaven
 And looking down, to see the hubbub strange 60
 And

51. *Comes down to see their city,* has made some alterations here, &c.] Gen. XI. 5 &c. *And the Lord came down to see the city and the tower, which the children of men builded* &c. The Scripture speaketh here after the manner of men: And thus the Heathen Gods are often represented as coming down to observe the actions of men, as in the stories of Lycaon, Baucis and Philemon &c.

53. — *a various spirit*] 2 Chron. XVIII. 22. 'Tis said the Lord had put *a lying spirit* in the mouth of the prophets; here he puts *a various spirit* in the mouth of these builders, a spirit varying the sounds by which they would express their thoughts one to another, and bringing consequently *confusion*, whence the work is so call'd. Richardson.

59. — *great laughter was in Heaven* &c.] Dr. Bentley

— great laughter *is* in Heaven
All looking down —
 — thus *is* the building left:

but afterwards I find the author varying the tense in several places, and speaking of things future as past, future with regard to the time when the Angel is speaking, but past with regard to the time which he is speaking of. *Great laughter was in Heaven* &c. And thus Homer represents the Gods as laughing at the awkward limping carriage of Vulcan in waiting, Iliad. I. 599.

ΑΣΕΙΣΤΟΝ Δ' ΑΡ' ΕΝΩΡΤΟ ΓΕΛΩΣ
 ΜΑΚΑΡΕΑΣΙ ΘΕΟΙΣΙΝ,

And hear the din; thus was the building left
Ridiculous, and the work Confusion nam'd.

Whereto thus Adam fatherly displeas'd.

O execrable son so to aspire

Above his brethren, to himself assuming

65

Authority usurp'd, from God not given :

He gave us only over beast, fish, fowl

Dominion absolute; that right we hold

By his donation; but man over men

He made not lord; such title to himself

70

Reserving, human left from human free.

But

Ὡς ἰδοὺ Ἡοῦςος δία δωματα
πομπῆς ἔσται.

Vulcan with aukward grace his
office plies,
And unextinguish'd laughter shakes
the skies. Pope.

62. — and the work Confusion
nam'd.] For Babel in Hebrew
signifies Confusion. Therefore is the
name of it called Babel, because the
Lord did there confound the language
of all the earth. Gen. XI. 9. As
the poet represents this confusion
among the builders as an object of
ridicule, so he makes use of some
ridiculous words, such as are not
very usual in poetry, to heighten
that ridicule, as *jangling noise, hi-
deous gabble, strange hubbub.*

71. — human left from human
free.] Every reader must be

pleased with the spirit of liberty,
that breathes in this speech of our
first ancestor: And it is not impro-
bable that the author had in mind
a passage of St. Austin, as I find it
quoted by Mr. Hume. *Rationalera
factum ad imaginem suam, noluit
nisi*

But as Mr. Thyer adds, it is rather
too comic for the grave character
of Milton's Gods to be represented
peeping down and laughing like a
parcel of mere mortals, to see the
workmen puzzled and squabbling
about their work: tho' there are
such expressions even in Scripture,
Psal. II. 4. *He that sitteth in the
Heavens shall laugh; the Lord shall
have them in derision.* See too Psal.
XXXVII. 13. LIX. 8. Prov. I. 26.
*I also will laugh at your calamity, I
will mock when your fear cometh.*

But this usurper his encroachment proud
 Stays not on man ; to God his tow'r intends
 Siege and defiance: Wretched man ! what food
 Will he convey up thither to sustain 75
 Himself and his rash army, where thin air
 Above the clouds will pine his entrails gross,
 And famish him of breath, if not of bread?

To whom thus Michael. Justly thou abhorr'st
 That son, who on the quiet state of men 80
 Such trouble brought, affecting to subdue
 Rational liberty; yet know withal,
 Since thy original lapse, true liberty
 Is lost, which always with right reason dwells
 Twinn'd, and from her hath no dividual being: 85
 Reason in man obscur'd, or not obey'd,

Imme-

nifi irrationalibus dominari, non hominem homini, sed hominem pecori. Aug. c. 15. l. 19. de Civit. Dei. For Milton, tho' he speaks contemptibly of the Fathers, yet sometimes makes use of their sentiments.

73. —to God his tow'r intends &c.] This being not asserted in Scripture, but only suppos'd by some writers, is better put into the mouth of Adam, than of the Angel. I wish the poet had taken the same care in ver. 51.

—ere the tower
 Obstruct Heav'n-tow'rs.—

81. *Such trouble brought,*] Dr. Bentley reads *brings*, because this is not (he says) told here as a thing past. But Michael is not telling any thing here: he is only making a reflection upon what he had been telling Adam just before in ver. 27. and it having been already told, the reflection made upon it may justly speak of it as a thing past.

Pearce.
 83. *Since*

Immediately inordinate desires
 And upstart passions catch the government
 From reason, and to servitude reduce
 Man till then free. Therefore since he permits 90
 Within himself unworthy pow'rs to reign
 Over free reason, God in judgment just
 Subjects him from without to violent lords;
 Who oft as undeservedly inthrall
 His outward freedom: tyranny must be, 95
 Though to the tyrant thereby no excuse.
 Yet sometimes nations will decline so low
 From virtue, which is reason, that no wrong,
 But justice, and some fatal curse annex'd
 Deprives them of their outward liberty, 100
 Their inward lost: Witness th' irreverent son

Of

83. *Since thy original lapse,*] Thus it is in Milton's own editions; in Dr. Bentley's, Mr. Fenton's, and other editions it is *Since by* original lapse, which makes hardly sense or syntax.

84. — *which always with right reason dwells*

Twinn'd,] Some editions read *twinn'd*, and Mr. Hume explains it *twisted together with upright reason*; but in Milton's own editions it is printed *twinn'd*, and I presume he

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means twinn'd at a birth with right reason. Liberty and virtue (*which is reason*, ver. 98.) are *twin-sisters*, and the one hath no being divided from the other.

101. — *Witness th' irreverent son Of him who built the ark, &c.*] Witness Cham, the father of Canaan, and shameful son of Noah, who for the reproach done to his father, *by discovering his nakedness*, heard this heavy curse pronounced by him on his wicked posterity the Canaanites; *Cursed be Canaan; a servant*

C c

Of him who built the ark, who for the shame
 Done to his father, heard this heavy curse,
Servant of servants, on his vicious race.

Thus will this latter, as the former world, 105
 Still tend from bad to worse, till God at last
 Wearied with their iniquities, withdraw
 His presence from among them, and avert
 His holy eyes; resolving from thenceforth
 To leave them to their own polluted ways; 110
 And one peculiar nation to select
 From all the rest, of whom to be invoc'd,
 A nation from one faithful man to spring:

Him

*servant of servants shall he be unto
 his brethren*, Gen. IX. 22, 25.

Hume.

to the one peculiar nation of the race
 of Abraham, from whence the Mes-
 siah was to descend.

Does not Milton here forget, that
 the Angel had not before mention'd
 the story of Ham's uncovering his
 father's nakedness? The urging it
 by way of example seems to infer
 its being known to Adam, which
 yet it could not be. Thyer.

114. *Him on this side Euphrates yet
 residing,*] That is Not yet,
 when Michael was speaking; but
 yet when God resolv'd to select one
 peculiar nation from all the rest, ver.
 111. No need therefore for Dr.
 Bentley's word then, instead of yet.

Pearce.

This heavy curse, so it is in Milton's
 own editions, but in others *his
 heavy curse*.

109. — *resolving from thenceforth
 To leave them &c.*] And the An-
 gel leaves them in like manner, and
 confines his narration henceforward

115. *Bred up in idol-worship;*] We read in Joshua XXIV. 2. *Your
 fathers dwelt on the other side of the
 flood in old time, even Terah the fa-
 ther of Abraham, and the father of
 Nachor, and they served other Gods.*
 Now as Terah Abraham's father

was

Him on this side Euphrates yet residing,
 Bred up in idol-worship; O that men 115
 (Canst thou believe?) should be so stupid grown,
 While yet the patriarch liv'd, who scap'd the flood,
 As to forsake the living God, and fall
 To worship their own work in wood and stone
 For Gods! yet him God the most High vouchsafes
 To call by vision from his father's house, 121
 His kindred and false Gods, into a land
 Which he will show him, and from him will raise
 A mighty nation, and upon him shower
 His benediction so, that in his seed 125
 All

was an idolater, I think we may be certain that Abraham was bred up in the religion of his father, though he renounc'd it afterwards, and in all probability converted his father likewise, for Terah removed with Abraham to Haran, and there died. See Gen. XI, 31, 32.

117. *While yet the patriarch liv'd, who scap'd the flood,*] It appears from the computations given by Moses, Gen. XI. that Terah the father of Abraham was born 222 years after the flood, but Noah lived after the flood 350 years. Gen. IX. 28. and we have proved from Joshua, that Terah and the ancestors of Abraham served other Gods; and from the Jewish tradi-

tions we learn farther that Terah, and Nachor his father, and Serug his grandfather were statuaries and carvers of idols: and therefore idolatry was set up in the world, *while yet the patriarch liv'd, who scap'd the flood.*

120. — *Yet him God the most High &c.*] The same him repeated as in ver. 114. Now the Lord had said unto Abram, Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will show thee. And I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee and make thy name great; and thou shalt be a blessing. And I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee;

All nations shall be blest; he strait obeys,
 Not knowing to what land, yet firm believes:
 I see him, but thou canst not, with what faith
 He leaves his Gods, his friends, and native soil
 Ur of Chaldæa, passing now the ford
 To Haran, after him a cumbrous train
 Of herds and flocks, and numerous servitude;

130

Not

*thee; and in thee shall all families of
 the earth be blessed, Gen. XII. 1, 2, 3.*

126. — *he strait obeys,*

*Not knowing to what land, yet firm
 believes:]* According to the au-
 thor of the Epistle to the Hebrews,
 XI. 8. *By faith Abraham, when he
 was called to go out into a place which
 he should after receive for an inheri-
 tance, obeyed; and he went out, not
 knowing whither he went.*

128. *I see him, but thou canst not,
 &c.]* As the principal design of this
 episode was to give Adam an idea
 of the holy Person who was to re-
 instate human nature in that happi-
 ness and perfection from which it
 had fallen, the poet confines him-
 self to the line of Abraham, from
 whence the Messiah was to descend.
 The Angel is described as seeing
 the patriarch actually traveling to-
 wards *the land of promise*, which
 gives a particular liveliness to this
 part of the narration. *Addison.*

Our poet, sensible that this long
 historical description might grow
 irksome, has varied the manner of
 representing it as much as possible,
 beginning first with supposing Adam

to have a prospect of it before his
 eyes, next by making the Angel
 the relator of it, and lastly by unit-
 ing the two former methods, and
 making Michael see it as in vision,
 and give a rapturous inliven'd ac-
 count of it to Adam. This gives
 great ease to the languishing atten-
 tion of the reader. *Thyer.*

130. *Ur of Chaldæa,]* Gen. XI.
 31. *And they went forth from Ur of
 the Chaldees, to go into the land of
 Canaan.* Chaldæa, a province of
 Asia, lying east of the Euphrates
 and west of the Tigris. Ur, a city
 of Chaldæa, the country of Terah
 and Abraham. The word Ur in
 Hebrew signifies *light* or *fire*; and
 this name was given to the city,
 because the sun and its symbol,
 fire, were worshipped therein. *Passing now the ford,* passing over the
 river Euphrates where it was ford-
 able, *to Haran;* by this it should
 seem, that our author conceiv'd
 Haran to lie west of the river Eu-
 phrates; and I find M. Bafnage in
 his Antiquities of the Jews main-
 tains, that Haran was a town, at
 present unknown, out of the limits
 of

Not wand'ring poor, but trusting all his wealth
 With God, who call'd him, in a land unknown.
 Canaan he now attains; I see his tents
 Pitch'd about Sechem, and the neighb'ring plain
 Of Moreh; there by promise he receives
 Gift to his progeny of all that land,
 From Hamath northward to the desert south,

(Things

of Mesopotamia, in Syria of Shobah, in the way towards the land of Canaan.

132. — *and numerous servitude;*] Many servants; the abstract for the concrete.

133. *Not wand'ring poor, but trusting all his wealth*] For Abram took Sarai his wife, and Lot his brother's son, and all their substance that they had gather'd, and the souls that they had gotten in Haran: and they went forth to go into the land of Canaan, and into the land of Canaan they came. Gen. XII. 5.

135. — *I see his tents* Pitch'd about Sechem, and the neighb'ring plain

Of Moreh; —] Gen. XII. 6. *And Abram passed through the land unto the place of Sichem, unto the plain of Moreh.* Sichem or Sechem or Sychar (for it had all these names) was a town of the province of Samaria. *there by promise he receives &c.* as it follows immediately in Genesis XII. 7. *And the Lord appeared unto Abram, and said, Unto thy seed will I give this land:* So

exactly does the poet copy the sacred historian.

139. *From Hamath northward &c.*] As so much is said of the promis'd land, the poet very properly gives us the bounds of it. *Hamath* was a city of Syria, and *the entring into Hamath*, so frequently mention'd in Scripture, is the narrow pass leading from the land of Canaan to Syria, through the valley which lies between Libanus and Antilibanus. This is set down as the northern boundary of the land: Numb. XXXIV. 7, 8. *To the desert south*, the desert of Arabia, or *the wilderness of Zin* as it is call'd Numb. XXXIV. 3. *Your south-quarter shall be from the wilderness of Zin.* From Hermon east, a mountain beyond Jordan, on the north-east, to the great western sea, the Mediterranean. Numb. XXXIV. 6. *And as for the western border, you shall even have the great sea for a border: this shall be your west-border.* On the shore mount Carmel, a mountain famous in Scripture upon the coast of the Mediterranean. *Here the double-founted stream Jordan,*

(Things by their names I call, though yet unnam'd)
 From Hermon east to the great western sea; 141
 Mount Hermon, yonder sea, each place behold
 In prospect, as I point them; on the shore
 Mount Carmel; here the double-founted stream
 Jordan, true limit eastward; but his sons 145
 Shall dwell to Senir, that long ridge of hills.
 This ponder, that all nations of the earth
 Shall in his seed be blessed; by that seed

Is

dan, as it is commonly said to arise from two sources at the foot of mount Libanus, the one called *Jor*, and the other *Dan*, as Thamifis from the Thame and Isis; *true limit eastward* according to Numb. XXXIV. 10, 12. *And ye shall point out your east-border from Hazar-enan*, a village at the fountain of Jordan, — *and the border shall go down to Jordan &c.* For the name of Canaan, tho' sometimes it includes the whole land possessed by the twelve tribes, yet peculiarly belongs to no more than the country westward of the river Jordan: and the Jews themselves make a distinction between the land promis'd to their fathers, and the lands of Sihon and Og which were to the eastward of the river. Moses plainly does the same in this expression, Deut. II. 29. *Until I shall pass over Jordan, into the land which the Lord our God giveth us.*

And the land on this side Jordan was esteemed more holy than the land on the other. The one was barely called the *land of your possession*, the other the *land of the possession of the Lord*, Joshua XXII. 19. See Universal History, Vol. 1. p. 566, 567. This river was the *true limit eastward*, but his sons were to extend themselves farther, *shall dwell to Senir, that long ridge of hills.* This Senir or Shenir is the same as mount Hermon, mention'd as the eastern border before ver. 141. as appears from Deut. III. 9. *Which Hermon the Sidonians call Sirion, and the Amorites call it Shenir.* And a more exact account of the boundaries of the promis'd land we shall hardly find in any profane author, than our poet has given us here in verse.

140. *Things by their names I call, though yet unnam'd*] As Virgil's

Is meant thy great deliverer, who shall bruise
 The Serpent's head; whereof to thee anon 150
 Plainlier shall be reveal'd. This patriarch blest,
 Whom faithful Abraham due time shall call,
 A son, and of his son a grand-child leaves,
 Like him in faith, in wisdom, and renown;
 The grand-child with twelve sons increas'd departs
 From Canaan, to a land hereafter call'd 156
 Egypt, divided by the river Nile;

See

gil's vision in the sixth Æneid probably gave Milton the hint of this whole episode, this line is a translation of that verse, wherein Anchises mentions the names of places, which they were to bear hereafter, ver. 776.

Hæc tum nomina erunt, nunc sunt
 sine nomine terræ. Addison.

Grotius has likewise imitated the same passage in his *Adamus Exul*, Act II. and Milton had seen Grotius as well as Virgil, and has expressed the same thing shorter and better,

Things by their names I call,
 though yet unnam'd.

Innominata quæque nominibus
 suis,

Libet vocare propriis vocabulis.

147. *This ponder,*] As if he had
 said, I mention other things for

your information, but this you
 should particularly remember, and
 meditate upon.

152. *Whom faithful Abraham due
 time shall call,*] Dr. Bentley
 observes that every where else
 Milton makes but two syllables of
Abraham; and therefore to do the
 same here, he reads *future* instead
 of *due*. But I believe that Milton
 intended to make the name *Abra-
 ham* here consist of three syllables,
 in allusion to God's adding a syl-
 lable to it, as we find in Gen.
 XVII. 5. *Neither shall thy name any
 more be called Abram, but thy name
 shall be Abraham.* Pearce.

Abram signifies a great father, but
Abraham is of larger extent, and
 signifies a father of many nations.

155. — *with twelve sons increas'd*
 A Latinism; as Plaut. *Trucul.* II.
 6. 34. *Cumque es aucta liberis.* See
 also Tacit. *Agric.* c. 6. Richardson.

C c 4

158. See

See where it flows, disgorging at sev'n mouths
 Into the sea: to sojourn in that land
 He comes invited by a younger son 160
 In time of dearth, a son whose worthy deeds
 Raise him to be the second in that realm
 Of Pharaoh: there he dies, and leaves his race
 Growing into a nation, and now grown
 Suspected to a sequent King, who seeks 165
 To stop their overgrowth, as inmate guests
 Too numerous; whence of guests he makes them slaves
 Inhospitably, and kills their infant males:
 Till by two brethren (those two brethren call
 Moses and Aaron) sent from God to clame 170
 His people from inthralment, they return
 With glory' and spoil back to their promis'd land.

But

158. *See where it flows, disgorging at sev'n mouths*] This pointing to the river adds a liveliness to the narration, and the ancient poets seldom mention the river Nile without taking notice of its *seven mouths*.

Et septem gemini turbant trepida
 ostia Nili. Virg. *Æn.* VI. 800.
 Sic ubi deferuit madidos septem-
 fluus agros

Nilus — Ovid. *Met.* I. 422.

— Ostia septem

Pulverulenta vacant septem sine
 flumine valles. Met. II. 256.

176. *To blood unsbed &c.*] The history of this part of the poem is so well known, as to need little comment or explanation. We shall only just observe the poet's exactness in copying of holy Writ, and particularly in recounting the plagues of Egypt in the same method and order as the divine historian. Besides this we will only note his spelling *murren* after the modern Latin word *murrena*.

181. — *thunder*

But first the lawless tyrant, who denies
 To know their God, or message to regard,
 Must be compell'd by signs and judgments dire; 175
 To blood unshed the rivers must be turn'd;
 Frogs, lice, and flies must all his palace fill
 With loath'd intrusion, and fill all the land;
 His cattel must of rot and murren die;
 Botches and blains must all his flesh imboss, 180
 And all his people; thunder mix'd with hail,
 Hail mix'd with fire must rend th' Egyptian sky,
 And wheel on th' earth, devouring where it rolls;
 What it devours not, herb, or fruit, or grain,
 A darksome cloud of locusts swarming down 185
 Must eat, and on the ground leave nothing green;
 Darknes must overshadow all his bounds,

Palpable

181. — *thunder mix'd with hail,* &c.] The storm of hail and fire, with the darkness that overspread the land for three days, are described with great strength. The beautiful passage which follows, is raised upon noble hints in Scripture:

— Thus with ten wounds

The river-dragon tam'd at length submits &c.

The *river-dragon* is an allusion to the crocodile, which inhabits the Nile, from whence Egypt derives her plenty. This allusion is taken

from that sublime passage in Ezekiel (XXIX. 3.) *Thus saith the Lord God, Behold I am against thee, Pharaoh king of Egypt, the great dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers, which hath said, My river is mine own, and I have made it for myself.* Milton has given us another very noble and poetical image in the same description, which is copied almost word for word out of the history of Moses.

All night he will pursue, &c.

Addison.

188. Pal-

Palpable darkness, and blot out three days;
 Last with one midnight stroke all the first-born
 Of Egypt must lie dead. Thus with ten wounds 190
 The river-dragon tam'd at length submits
 To let his sojourners depart, and oft
 Humbles his stubborn heart, but still as ice
 More harden'd after thaw, till in his rage
 Pursuing whom he late dismiss'd, the sea 195
 Swallows him with his host, but them lets pass
 As on dry land between two crystal walls,
 Aw'd by the rod of Moses so to stand
 Divided, till his rescued gain their shore:

Such

188. *Palpable darkness,*] *Darkness* that may be felt, says our translation. In the vulgar Latin it is *tam densæ ut palpari queant*, from whence our author seems to have fetch'd the word *palpable*.

191. *The river-dragon tam'd*] The first edition has *This river-dragon*; but in the second it is alter'd to *The*, whether by the poet's direction, or by a mistake of the printer, we cannot tell. Pearce.

193. ——— as ice
More harden'd after thaw,] For ice warm'd gently into a thaw, is made more receptive of those saline and nitrous particles, which fill the freezing air, and insinuating themselves into the water already weaken'd, are the cause of a harder concretion.

Stiriaque impexis induruit horrida barbis.

Virg. Georg. III. 366.

Iceicles freeze, as they drop, into a wonderful hardness. Hume.

206. ——— but his approach
Darkness defends between till morning watch;] To defend here has the signification of to forbid, to hinder, to keep off; as the Latin *defendo* is sometimes used, and the French *defendre*. There is *hostem defendere* in Ennius, *solstitium pecori defendite* in Virgil, *defendere frigus* in Horace. *Darkness between defends*, forbids and hinders, *his approach till the morning watch*, alluding to Exod. XIV. 19, 20. And the Angel of God, which went before the camp of Israel, removed and went behind

Such wondrous pow'r God to his faint will lend, 200
 Though present in his Angel, who shall go
 Before them in a cloud, and pill'ar of fire,
 By day a cloud, by night a pill'ar of fire,
 To guide them in their journey, and remove
 Behind them, while th' obdurate king pursues: 205
 All night he will pursue, but his approach
 Darknes defends between till morning watch;
 Then through the fiery pillar and the cloud
 God looking forth will trouble all his host,
 And craze their chariot wheels: when by command
 Moses once more his potent rod extends 211

Over

behind them; and the pillar of the cloud went from before their face, and stood behind them: And it came between the camp of the Egyptians and the camp of Israel, and it was a cloud and darkness to them, but it gave light by night to these, so that the one came not near the other all the night.
 And Milton himself has used *defended* in the same manner, XI. 86. *that defended fruit.* See the note there.
 And again in *Parad. Reg.* II. 369.

— no interdict

Defends the touching of these viands pure.

And so Spenser uses it, *Fairy Queen*, B. 4. Cant. 3. St. 32.

Himself to save, and danger to defend.

And so polite a writer as Sir William Temple, in the conclusion of his Essay upon the cure of the gout by Moxa, speaking of wine says, that "the use of it pure was in some places defended by customs or laws."

210. *And craze their chariot wheels:* Bruise or break them in pieces. Craze from the French *ecrafer* to bruise or break. So I. 311. the chariot wheels are said to have been *broken*, though Exod. XIV. 25. 'tis only said they were *taken off*, so that the chariots were *driven heavily*. Milton who perfectly understood the original has therefore expounded this *taking off* to be *breaking*; tho' that may mean no more, than what we do when we say such a one is *crazy*, broken with age and disabled. *Richardson.*

The

Over the sea; the sea his rod obeys;
 On their imbattel'd ranks the waves return,
 And overwhelm their war: the race elect
 Safe towards Canaan from the shore advance 215
 Through the wild desert, not the readiest way,
 Lest entring on the Canaanite alarm'd
 War terrify them inexpert, and fear
 Return them back to Egypt, choosin' rather
 Inglorious life with servitude; for life 220
 To noble and ignoble is more sweet
 Untrain'd in arms, where rashness leads not on.
 This also shall they gain by their delay
 In the wide wilderness, there they shall found
 Their government, and their great senate choose 225
 Through

The pot was crased is in Chaucer. See Lye's Junius upon the word *crasie*.

216. — *not the readiest way, &c.*
 It is remarkable, that here Milton omits the moral cause (tho' he gives the political) of the Israelites wand'ring forty years in the wilderness, and this was their poltron mutiny on the return of the spies. He omitted this with judgment, for this last speech of the Angel was to give such a representation of things, as might convey comfort to Adam: otherwise the story of the brazen serpent would have afforded noble imagery. Warburton.

216. — *not the readiest way,*] For Exod. XIII. 17, 18. *It came to pass when Pharaoh had let the people go, that God led them not through the way of the land of the Philistines, although that was near. That was the nearest way from Egypt to Canaan, and was a journey of not above three days, as Philo says; others say of ten. But certainly it was no great way, for the sons of Jacob went it often to and fro. See Bishop Patrick. For God said, Lest peradventure the people repent, when they see war, and they return to Egypt. But God led the people about, through the way of the wilderness of the Red Sea.*

227. — *whose*

Through the twelve tribes, to rule by laws ordain'd:
 God from the mount of Sinai, whose gray top
 Shall tremble, he descending, will himself
 In thunder, lightning, and loud trumpets sound,
 Ordain them laws; part such as appertain 230
 To civil justice, part religious rites
 Of sacrifice, informing them, by types
 And shadows, of that destin'd Seed to bruise
 The Serpent, by what means he shall achieve
 Mankind's deliverance. But the voice of God 235
 To mortal ear is dreadful; they beseech
 That Moses might report to them his will,
 And terror cease; he grants what they besought
 Instructed that to God is no access

Without

227. — *whose gray top*] An usual epithet of mountains, because the snow lies longer there than in the valleys, and upon some of their lofty brows all the year long.

— *Gelidus canis cum montibus*
humor

Liquitur. Virg. Georg. I. 43.
Hume.

But this epithet was more proper and peculiar to Sinai at that time, as it was cover'd with *clouds* and *smoke*. See Exod. XIX.

230. &c 245 &c.] By these passages Milton seems to have under-

stood no more of the Jewish institution than he saw in the small presbyterian systems; otherwise the true idea of the theocracy would have afforded some noble observations.

Warburton.

237. *That Moses might report*] Dr. Bentley would read *may report*.

238. — *he grants what they besought*] In the first edition it was thus, *he grants them their desire*, but in the second it was alter'd to this, *he grants what they besought*; I suppose that the construction might be plainer in what follows, *Instructed that to God &c.*

242. — *of*

Without mediator, whose high office now 240
 Moses in figure bears, to introduce
 One greater, of whose day he shall foretel,
 And all the prophets in their age the times
 Of great Messi'ah shall sing. Thus laws and rites
 Establish'd, such delight hath God in men 245
 Obedient to his will, that he vouchsafes
 Among them to set up his tabernacle,
 The holy One with mortal men to dwell:
 By his prescript a sanctuary is fram'd
 Of cedar, overlaid with gold, therein 250
 An ark, and in the ark his testimony,
 The records of his covenant, over these
 A mercy-seat of gold between the wings

Of

242. — of whose day he shall foretel,
And all the prophets &c.] Acts III. 22, 24. For Moses truly said unto the fathers, A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren, like unto me—yea and all the prophets from Samuel, and those that follow after, as many as have spoken, have likewise foretold of these days.

255. *Seven lamps as in a zodiac representing*

The heav'nly fires;] That the seven lamps signified the seven planets, and that therefore the lamps stood slope-wise, as it were to express the obliquity of the zodiac, is the gloss of

Josephus, from whom probably our author borrow'd it. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 3. c. 6 & 7. and De Bel. Jud. Lib. 5. c. 5. See likewise Mede's Discourse 10th. upon the seven Arch-Angels. Mr. Hume quotes likewise the Latin of Philo to the same purpose: *Mythicè candelabrum hoc septisidum imago erat sphaeræ septilustris, sive septem planetarum. Tabernaculum typus mundi. Sanctum sanctorum, typus coeli empyrei beatorum.* See Cornelius a Lapide upon Exod. XXV. 31.

258. *Save when they journey,]* Then a cloud covered the tent of the congregation, and the glory of the Lord filled

Of two bright Cherubim ; before him burn
 Sev'n lamps as in a zodiac representing 255
 The heav'nly fires ; over the tent a cloud
 Shall rest by day, a fiery gleam by night,
 Save when they journey, and at length they come,
 Conducted by his Angel to the land
 Promis'd to Abraham and his seed : the rest 260
 Were long to tell, how many battels fought,
 How many kings destroy'd, and kingdoms won,
 Or how the sun shall in mid Heav'n stand still
 A day entire, and night's due course adjourn,
 Man's voice commanding, Sun in Gibeon stand, 265
 And thou moon in the vale of Aialon,
 Till Israel overcome ; so call the third

From

filled the tabernacle. And Moses was not able to enter into the tent of the congregation because the cloud abode thereon, and the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle. And when the cloud was taken up from over the tabernacle, the children of Israel went onward in all their journeys. But if the cloud were not taken up, then they journeyed not, till the day that it was taken up. For the cloud of the Lord was upon the tabernacle by day, and fire was on it by night, in the sight of all the house of Israel, throughout all their journeys, Exod. XL. 34 &c. Thus it was in all places wherever they came : and this is what Milton

says in short, the cloud was over the tent by day, and the fire (call'd here a fiery gleam) by night, when they journey'd not. He takes no notice how it was when they did, which this text (for the infinite beauty of it we have given it at length) explains: The cloud was then taken up; How then? *the Lord went before them by day in a pillar of a cloud to lead them the way, and by night in a pillar of fire to give them light, to go by day and night, chap. XIII. 21.* Other armies pitch their ensigns when they incamp, and lift them up when they march. So does the Lord of hosts leading forth his people.

From Abraham, son of Isaac, and from him
His whole descent, who thus shall Canaan win.

Here Adam interpos'd. O sent from Heaven, 270
Inlightner of my darkness, gracious things
Thou hast reveal'd, those chiefly which concern
Just Abraham and his seed: now first I find
Mine eyes true opening, and my heart much eas'd,
Erewhile perplex'd with thoughts what would become
Of me and all mankind; but now I see 276
His day, in whom all nations shall be blest,

Favor

people. But what ensigns! how
sublime! Milton seems too concise
here. *Richardson.*

270. *Here Adam interpos'd.*] These
interpositions of Adam have a very
good effect, for otherwise the con-
tinued narration of the Angel would
appear too long and tedious.

274. *Mine eyes true opening.*] For
that was a false promise which the
Serpent had made, Gen. III. 5.
Your eyes shall be open'd &c.

277. *His day.*] An allusion to
that of our Saviour, John VIII. 56.
*Your father Abraham rejoiced to see
my day; and he saw it, and was
glad.*

283. *So many laws argue so many
fins*] This scruple of our
first father, and the reply of the An-
gel are grounded upon St. Paul's
Epistles, and particularly those to
the Romans, Galatians and Hebrews,

as the reader, who is at all conver-
sant with these sacred writings, will
easily perceive. It would be too
minute and tedious to quote chapter
and verse for every expression: but
the reader may peruse the following
texts, and compare them with our
author. *Wherefore then serveth the
law? it was added because of trans-
gressions.* Gal. III. 19. *I had not
known sin but by the law: But sin
taking occasion by the commandment
wrought in me all manner of concu-
piscence.* Rom. VII. 7, 8. *By the
deeds of the law there shall no flesh
be justified in his sight, for by the
law is the knowledge of sin.* Rom.
III. 20. *If the blood of bulls and
of goats sanctifieth to the purifying of
the flesh, how much more shall the
blood of Christ, who through the eter-
nal Spirit offered himself without spot
to God, purge your conscience from
dead works?* Heb. IX. 13, 14. *It
is not possible that the blood of bulls
and*

Favor unmerited by me; who fought
 Forbidden knowledge by forbidden means.
 This yet I apprehend not, why to those 280
 Among whom God will deign to dwell on earth
 So many and so various laws are given;
 So many laws argue so many sins
 Among them; how can God with such reside?

To whom thus Michael. Doubt not but that sin
 Will reign among them, as of thee begot; 286
 And therefore was law giv'n them to evince

Their

and of goats should take away sins; see. Heb. X. 1. That no man is justified by the law in the sight of God it is evident; for the just shall live by faith: And the law is not of faith; but the man that doeth them shall live in them.—But before faith came, we were kept under the law, shut up unto the faith, which should afterwards be revealed. Gal. III. 11, 12, 23. Wherefore thou art no more a servant, but a son. Gal. IV. 7. For ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear; but ye have received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry Abba, Father. Rom. VIII. 15. How admirably hath our author here in a few verses summ'd up the sense and argument of these and more texts of scripture? It is really wonderful, how he could comprise so much divinity in so few words, and at the same time express it with such strength and perspicuity.

Their natural pravity, by stirring up
 Sin against law to fight: that when they see
 Law can discover sin, but not remove, 290
 Save by those shadowy expiations weak,
 The blood of bulls and goats, they may conclude
 Some blood more precious must be paid for man,
 Just for unjust, that in such righteousness
 To them by faith imputed, they may find 295
 Justification towards God, and peace
 Of conscience, which the law by ceremonies
 Cannot appease, nor man the moral part
 Perform, and not performing cannot live.
 So law appears imperfect, and but given 300
 With purpose to resign them in full time
 Up to a better covenant, disciplin'd
 From shadowy types to truth, from flesh to spirit,
 From imposition of strict laws to free
 Acceptance of large grace, from servile fear 305
 To

307. *And therefore shall not Moses,*
 &c.] Moses died in mount
 Nebo, in the land of Moab, from
 whence he had the prospect of the
 promis'd land, but not the honor
 of leading the Israelites in to possess
 it, which was reserved for Joshua.
 Deut. XXXIV. Josh. I. Commen-
 tators on the death of Aaron in mount
 Hor, Numb. XX. 28, remark that

neither Miriam that is the prophets,
 nor Aaron that is the priests, nor
 Moses the deliverer of the law, but
 Joshua that is Jesus Christ, was able
 to lead God's people into the pro-
 mis'd land, to Heaven and ever-
 lasting bliss. St. Jerom. Theod.
 Rabanus &c. Hume.

311. *His name and office bearing,]*
 Joshua was in many things a type
 of

To filial, works of law to works of faith.
 And therefore shall not Moses, though of God
 Highly belov'd, being but the minister
 Of law, his people into Canaan lead;
 But Joshua whom the Gentiles Jesus call, 310
 His name and office bearing, who shall quell
 The adversary Serpent, and bring back
 Through the world's wilderness long wander'd man
 Safe to eternal Paradise of rest.
 Mean while they in their earthly Canaan plac'd 315
 Long time shall dwell and prosper, but when sins
 National interrupt their public peace,
 Provoking God to raise them enemies;
 From whom as oft he saves them penitent
 By judges first, then under kings; of whom 320
 The second, both for piety renown'd
 And puissant deeds, a promise shall receive
 Irrevocable, that his regal throne

For

of Jesus; and the names are the same, Joshua according to the Hebrew, and Jesus in Greek. The Seventy always render Joshua by Jesus, and there are two passages in the New Testament where Jesus is used for Joshua, once by St. Stephen, Acts VII. 45. *The tabernacle which our fathers brought in with Jesus,* that is with Joshua; *into the possession*

of the Gentiles; and again by St. Paul, Heb. IV. 8. *If Jesus, that is if Joshua, had given them rest, then would he not afterward have spoken of another day.* And the name Joshua or Jesus signifies a Saviour.

322. — *a promise shall receive &c.]* The poet alludes here to the following prophecies: *And thine house, and thy kingdom shall be established for ever*
 D d z

For ever shall indure; the like shall sing
 All prophecy, that of the royal stock 325
 Of David (so I name this king) shall rise
 A Son, the Woman's seed to thee foretold,
 Foretold to Abraham, as in whom shall trust
 All nations, and to kings foretold, of kings
 The last, for of his reign shall be no end. 330
 But first a long succession must ensue,
 And his next son, for wealth and wisdom fam'd,
 The clouded ark of God, till then in tents
 Wand'ring, shall in a glorious temple' inshrine.
 Such follow him as shall be register'd 335
 Part good, part bad, of bad the longer scroll,
 Whose foul idolatries, and other faults

Heap'd

ever before thee; thy throne shall be established for ever, 2 Sam. VII. 16. And this promise is called irrevocable, for says God Psal. LXXXIX. 34, 35, 36. My covenant will I not break, nor alter the thing that is gone out of my lips. Once have I sworn by my holiness that I will not lie unto David. His seed shall indure for ever, and his throne as the sun before me. The poet goes on, the like shall sing all prophecy, all the prophets shall foretel the same, that of the royal stock of David shall rise a Son, inasmuch that when the Pharisees were asked Whose son is Christ, they all readily answer The son of David.

Matth. XXII. 42. foretold to thee as the Woman's seed, Gen. III. 15. foretold to Abraham as a person in whom all nations shall trust, Gen. XXII. 18. And in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed, and in him shall the Gentiles trust, Rom. XV. 12. and to kings foretold, as the last of kings, for of his reign shall be no end, according to the declaration of the Angel, Luke I. 32, 33. The Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David; And he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end. So thoroughly has our author studied all the parts of

Heap'd to the popular fum, will so incense
 God, as to leave them, and expose their land,
 Their city', his temple, and his holy ark 340
 With all his sacred things, a scorn and prey
 To that proud city, whose high walls thou saw'st
 Left in confusion, Babylon thence call'd.
 There in captivity he lets them dwell
 The space of sev'nty years, then brings them back,
 Remembering mercy, and his covenant sworn 346
 To David, stablish'd as the days of Heaven.
 Return'd from Babylon by leave of kings
 Their lords, whom God dispos'd, the house of God
 They first re-edify, and for a while 350
 In mean estate live moderate, till grown

In

of holy Scripture, and digested them into this work.

342. — *whose high walls thou saw'st* &c.] I know not whether the poet has not here forgotten himself a little; for it is not strictly true, that Adam *saw* the walls left in confusion; it was no part of Adam's vision; it is only a part of the Angel's narration in this book. I was thinking then that perhaps Adam might see places, tho' he could not see persons; as he sees the Nile, ver. 158, and mount Hermon and the Mediterranean, ver. 142, tho' he could not see Abra-

ham, ver. 128: but the Mediterranean, and Hermon, and the Nile, seas, and mountains, and rivers, are such places as existed at that very time, whereas the walls of Babel or Babylon were not built till several years afterwards, and Adam seems now to have lost his prospect of things future; as the Angel says, *I perceive thy mortal sight to fail*, ver. 9. We must not therefore understand the expression literally; for verbs of *seeing* are often extended beyond the bare act, and are applied to other senses and other faculties of the mind.

D d 3

355. — *their*

In wealth and multitude, factious they grow ;
 But first among the priests dissension springs,
 Men who attend the altar, and should most
 Endeavor peace : their strife pollution brings 355
 Upon the temple' itself : at last they seize
 The scepter, and regard not David's sons,
 Then lose it to a stranger, that the true
 Anointed king Messiah might be born
 Barr'd of his right ; yet at his birth a star 360
 Unseen before in Heav'n proclames him come,
 And guides the eastern sages, who inquire
 His place, to offer incense, myrrh, and gold ;
 His place of birth a solemn Angel tells
 To simple shepherds, keeping watch by night ; 365
 They gladly thither haste, and by a quire
 Of squadron'd Angels hear his carol sung,
 A virgin is his mother, but his sire
 The pow'r of the most High ; he shall ascend
 The throne hereditary, and bound his reign 370
 With

355. — *their strife pollution brings
 Upon the temple itself: &c.* For it
 was chiefly through the contests be-
 tween Jason and Menelaus, high-
 priests of the Jews, that the temple
 was polluted by Antiochus Epipha-
 nes. See 2 Maccab. V. and Prideaux.

At last they seize the scepter, Aristobulus eldest son of Hyrcanus, high-priest of the Jews, was the first who assumed the title of king after the Babylonish captivity ; before Christ 107. *And regard not David's sons,* none of that family having had the govern-

With earth's wide bounds, his glory with the Heavens.

He ceas'd, discerning Adam with such joy
Surcharg'd, as had like grief been dew'd in tears,
Without the vent of words, which these he breath'd.

O prophet of glad tidings, finisher 375
Of utmost hope! now clear I understand
What oft my steddier thoughts have search'd in vain;
Why our great expectation should be call'd
The seed of Woman: Virgin Mother, hail,
High in the love of Heav'n, yet from my loins 380
Thou shalt proceed, and from thy womb the Son
Of God most High; so God with Man unites.

Needs must the Serpent now his capital bruise
Expect with mortal pain: say where and when 384
Their fight, what stroke shall bruise the victor's heel.

To whom thus Michael. Dream not of their fight,
As of a duel, or the local wounds
Of head or heel: not therefore joins the Son
Manhood to God-head, with more strength to foil

Thy

government since Zerubbabel. *Then
lose it to a stranger, to Herod who
was an Idumean, in whose reign
Christ was born. See Josephus and
Prideaux.*

*With earth's wide bounds, his glory
with the Heavens.]*

*Imperium oceano, famam qui ter-
minet astris.*

Virg. Æn. I. 287.

370. — and bound his reign

D d 4

394. — his

Thy enemy ; nor so is overcome 390
 Satan, whose fall from Heav'n, a deadlier bruise,
 Disabled not to give thee thy death's wound :
 Which he, who comes thy Saviour, shall recure,
 Not by destroying Satan, but his works
 In thee and in thy seed : nor can this be, 395
 But by fulfilling that which thou didst want,
 Obedience to the law of God, impos'd
 On penalty of death, and suffering death,
 The penalty to thy transgression due,
 And due to theirs which out of thine will grow : 400
 So only can high justice rest appaid.
 The law of God exact he shall fulfil
 Both by obedience and by love, though love
 Alone fulfil the law ; thy punishment

He

394. ——— *his works*
In thee and in thy seed:] 1 John
 III. 8. *For this purpose the Son of*
God was manifested, that he might
destroy the works of the Devil.

400. *And due to theirs which out*
of thine will grow:] Punish-
 ment is due to men's actual tran-
 sgressions, tho' the original depravity,
 the transgression of Adam, was the
 root of them. *Richardson.*

403. ——— *though love*
Alone fulfil the law:] Rom. XIII.
 10. *Love is the fulfilling of the law.*

409. ——— *his merits*

To save them, &c.] Dr. Bentley
 says that the construction demands
Do save them, and so he supposes
 that Milton gave it. But I cannot
 see with what propriety, when Mi-
 chael is speaking of things to come,
 and using the future tense before
 and after this sentence, he can here
 jump at once into the present tense
do, and represent Christ's merits as
 then actually *saving them*. And yet
 tho' I dislike the Doctor's alteration,
 I confess that there is a difficulty
 in the common reading. The only
 sense that I can make of it is this,
 Which

He shall indure by coming in the flesh 405
 To a reproachful life and curfed death,
 Proclaming life to all who shall believe
 In his redemption, and that his obedience
 Imputed becomes theirs by faith, his merits
 To fave them, not their own, though legal works.
 For this he shall live hated, be blasphem'd, 411
 Seis'd on by force, judg'd, and to death condemn'd
 A shameful and accurs'd, nail'd to the cross
 By his own nation, flain for bringing life;
 But to the cross he nails thy enemies, 415
 The law that is againft thee, and the fins
 Of all mankind, with him there crucify'd,
 Never to hurt them more who rightly trust
 In this his fatisfaction; fo he dies,

But

Which *redemption* and *obedience* are
his merits to fave them, and not their
 own works, tho' legal ones and
 ftrictly conformable to the law.

Pearce.

I rather underftand the paffage thus.
 I apprehend that the verb *believe*
 governs the reft of the fentence,
*Proclaming life to all who fhall be-
 lieve in his redemption, and fhall be-
 lieve that his obedience imputed be-
 comes theirs by faith, and fhall be-
 lieve his merits to fave them, not their
 own, though legal works.*

413. *A shameful and accurs'd,*

*For it is written, Cursed is every one
 that hangeth on a tree. Gal. III. 13.
 Deut. XXI. 23.*

415. *But to the cross he nails thy
 enemies,]* The enemies of

Adam were the *law that was againft
 him* and the *fin of all mankind* as
 fpringing originally from him, and
 therefore in fome fenfe chargeable
 upon him. The author in this paf-
 fage alludes to Col. II. 14. *Blotting
 out the hand writing of ordinances
 that was againft us, which was con-
 trary to us, and took it out of the
 way, nailing it to his cross.*

424. *Thy*

But soon revives; death over him no power 420
 Shall long usurp; ere the third dawning light
 Return, the stars of morn shall see him rise
 Out of his grave, fresh as the dawning light,
 Thy ransom paid, which man from death redeems,
 His death for man, as many as offer'd life 425
 Neglect not, and the benefit embrace
 By faith not void of works: this God-like act
 Annuls thy doom, the death thou shouldst have dy'd,
 In sin for ever lost from life; this act
 Shall bruise the head of Satan, crush his strength, 430
 Defeating sin and death, his two main arms,
 And fix far deeper in his head their stings
 Than temp'ral death shall bruise the victor's heel,
 Or theirs whom he redeems, a death like sleep,
 A gentle wafting to immortal life. 435
 Nor after resurrection shall he stay
 Longer on earth than certain times to' appear

To

424. *Thy ransom paid,*] The two first editions have *Thy* (the later ones *The*): and Milton's word may be defended; if we suppose that Adam is here spoken of not as a single person, but as one in whose loins all mankind was contain'd, or as one who was representative of the whole human species. And so the poet speaks again in ver. 427.

— this God-like act
 Annuls *thy* doom, &c. Pearce.
 432. *And fix far deeper in his head their stings*
Than temp'ral death shall bruise the victor's heel,] Before we come to a conclusion, it may be proper to remark here once for all, that Milton makes no distinction between *then*

To his disciples, men who in his life
 Still follow'd him; to them shall leave in charge
 To teach all nations what of him they learn'd 440
 And his salvation, them who shall believe
 Baptizing in the profluent stream, the sign
 Of washing them from guilt of sin to life
 Pure, and in mind prepar'd, if so befall,
 For death, like that which the Redeemer dy'd. 445
 All nations they shall teach; for from that day
 Not only to the sons of Abraham's loins
 Salvation shall be preach'd, but to the sons
 Of Abraham's faith wherever through the world;
 So in his seed all nations shall be blest. 450
 Then to the Heav'n of Heav'ns he shall ascend
 With victory, triumphing through the air
 Over his foes and thine; there shall surprise
 The Serpent, prince of air, and drag in chains
 Through all his realm, and there confounded leave;
 Then

then and *than*, but spells both alike
then, which must necessarily occasion
 some obscurity and confusion. *Their*
 too he commonly writes *thir*, but
 this greatly offends the eye, we are
 so much habituated to the other;
 and at the same time he frequently
 uses *theirs*, and there seems to be no
 reason why the one should be writ-

ten differently from the other. It is
 hoped therefore that these things
 have been alter'd for the better.

445. *For death, like that which the
 Redeemer dy'd.*] Dr. Bentley
 says (and it is not improbable) that
 the author gave it,

— which *their* Redeemer dy'd.

457. — *ex.*

Then enter into glory, and resume 456
 His feat at God's right hand, exalted high
 Above all names in Heav'n; and thence shall come,
 When this world's dissolution shall be ripe,
 With glory' and pow'r to judge both quick and dead,
 To judge th' unfaithful dead, but to reward 461
 His faithful, and receive them into blifs,
 Whether in Heav'n or Earth, for then the Earth
 Shall all be Paradise, far happier place
 Than this of Eden, and far happier days. 465

So spake th' Arch-Angel Michaël, then paus'd,
 As at the world's great period; and our fire
 Replete with joy and wonder thus reply'd.

O

457. — *exalted high*
Above all names in Heav'n;] Philip.
 II. 9. *Wherefore God also hath highly*
exalted him, and given him a name
which is above every name. Or as
 it is express'd Eph. I. 20, 21. *Hath*
set him at his own right hand in the
heavenly places, above every name
that is named, not only in this world,
but also in that which is to come.

459. *When this world's dissolution*
shall be ripe,] In the later
 editions we have *the world's*: but
 I prefer *this*, which is found in the
 two first; because this reading ad-
 mits the ictus on the second syllable
 of the verse (where it ought to be)
 whereas the other reading throws it
 off upon the third. *Pearce.*

469. *O Goodness infinite, Goodness*
immense! &c.] The poet
 has very finely represented the joy
 and gladness of heart, which rises
 in Adam upon his discovery of the
 Messiah. As he sees his day at a
 distance through types and shadows,
 he rejoices in it; but when he finds
 the redemption of man completed,
 and Paradise again renew'd, he
 breaks forth in rapture and transport.
 I have hinted before, that an heroic
 poem, according to the opinion of
 the best critics, ought to end hap-
 pily, and leave the mind of the
 reader, after having conducted it
 through many doubts and fears, for-
 rows and disquietudes, in a state of
 tranquillity and satisfaction. Milton's
 fable,

O Goodness infinite, Goodness immense!
 That all this good of evil shall produce, 470
 And evil turn to good; more wonderful
 Than that which by creation first brought forth
 Light out of darkness! full of doubt I stand,
 Whether I should repent me now of sin
 By me done and occasion'd, or rejoice 475
 Much more, that much more good thereof shall spring,
 To God more glory, more good will to men
 From God, and over wrath grace shall abound.
 But say, if our Deliverer up to Heaven
 Must reascend, what will betide the few 480
 His faithful, left among th' unfaithful herd,

The

fable, which had so many other qualifications to recommend it, was deficient in this particular. It is here therefore, that the poet has shown a most exquisite judgment, as well as the finest invention, by finding out a method to supply this natural defect in his subject. Accordingly he leaves the Adversary of mankind, in the last view which he gives us of him, under the lowest state of mortification and disappointment. We see him chewing ashes, groveling in the dust, and loaden with supernumerary pains and torments. On the contrary our two first parents are comforted by dreams and visions, cheered with promises of salvation, and in a manner, raised to a greater

happiness, than that which they had forfeited: In short, Satan is represented miserable in the highth of his triumphs, and Adam triumphant in the highth of misery. *Addison.*

475. ——— or rejoice
Much more, that much more good thereof shall spring,] He seems to have remember'd that rant of one of the Fathers. O felix culpa, quæ talem ac tantum meruit habere redemptorem! O happy fault, which deserved to have such and so great a redeemer! As in what follows, *To God more glory, &c.* he alludes to the heavenly hymn, *Glory to God in the highest &c.*

487. The

The enemies of truth? who then shall guide
 His people, who defend? will they not deal
 Worse with his followers than with him they dealt?

Be sure they will, said th' Angel; but from Heaven
 He to his own a Comforter will send, 486
 The promise of the Father, who shall dwell
 His Spi'rit within them, and the law of faith
 Working through love, upon their hearts shall write,
 To guide them in all truth, and also arm 490
 With spiritual armour, able to resist
 Satan's assaults, and quench his fiery darts,
 What man can do against them, not afraid,
 Though to the death, against such cruelties
 With inward consolations recompens'd, 495
 And oft supported so as shall amaze
 Their proudest persecutors: for the Spirit
 Pour'd first on his Apostles, whom he sends

To

487. *The promise of the Father,*] 11, &c. *Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the Devil—*

490. *To guide them in all truth,*] *where-with ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked.*

John XVI. 13. *When the Spirit of truth is come, he will guide you into all truth.* 493. *What man can do against them, not afraid,*

490. — *and also arm* *Though to the death,*] So this passage is pointed in Milton's own editions, and I suppose the construction to be, *Not afraid of what man can do*

With spiritual armour, able to resist Satan's assaults, and quench his fiery darts,] Alluding to Eph. VI.

To evangelize the nations, then on all
 Baptiz'd, shall them with wondrous gifts indue 500
 To speak all tongues, and do all miracles,
 As did their Lord before them. Thus they win
 Great numbers of each nation to receive
 With joy the tidings brought from Heav'n: at length
 Their ministry perform'd, and race well run, 505
 Their doctrin and their story written left,
 They die; but in their room, as they forewarn,
 Wolves shall succeed for teachers, grievous wolves,
 Who all the sacred mysteries of Heaven
 To their own vile advantages shall turn 510
 Of lucre and ambition, and the truth
 With superstitions and traditions taint,
 Left only in those written records pure,
 Though not but by the Spirit understood.
 Then shall they seek to' avail themselves of names,
 Places,

do against them though to the death, though it be persecution to death itself; and it is an allusion to Psal. LVI. 11. I will not be afraid what man can do unto me.

507. — *but in their room, as they forewarn,*

Wolves shall succeed &c.] So St. Paul had forewarn'd the elders of the church at Miletus, to which the author here alludes, Acts XX. 29.

For I know this that after my departure shall grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing the flock. See too his Considerations touching the likeliest means to remove hirelings out of the Christian church. Vol. I. p. 563. Edit. 1738. Not long after as the Apostle foretold, hirelings like wolves came in by herds &c.

514. *Though not but by the Spirit understood.]* I don't think Milton

Places, and titles, and with these to join 516
 Secular pow'r, though feigning still to act
 By spiritual, to themselves appropriating
 The Spi'rit of God, promis'd alike and given
 To all believers; and from that pretence, 520
 Spiritual laws by carnal pow'r shall force
 On every conscience; laws which none shall find
 Left them inroll'd, or what the Spi'rit within
 Shall on the heart engrave. What will they then
 But force the Spi'rit of grace itself, and bind 525
 His consort liberty? what, but unbuild
 His living temples, built by faith to stand,
 Their own faith not another's? for on earth
 Who against faith and conscience can be heard
 Infallible? yet many will presume: 530
 Whence heavy persecution shall arise

On

Milton in all his writings ever gave a stronger proof of his enthusiastical spirit than in this line. Warburton. I suppose he alluded to 1 Cor. II. 14. *The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discern'd:* understanding it as some enthusiastick Sectarists have understood it.

522. — *laws which none shall find &c.]* Laws neither

agreeable to reveal'd or natural religion, neither to be found in holy Scripture, or written on their hearts by the Spirit of God, according to that divine promise, Jer. XXXI. 33. *I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts.*

526. *His consort liberty?]* For where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty, 2 Cor. III. 17.

527. *His living temples.]* Christians are call'd the temples of God, 1 Cor. III. 16, 17. and VI. 19.

532. On

On all who in the worship persevere
 Of spi'rit and truth; the rest, far greater part,
 Will deem in outward rites and specious forms
 Religion satisfy'd; truth shall retire 535
 Bestuck with fland'rous darts, and works of faith
 Rarely be found: so shall the world go on,
 To good malignant, to bad men benign,
 Under her own weight groaning, till the day
 Appear of respiration to the just, 540
 And vengeance to the wicked, at return
 Of him so lately promis'd to thy aid
 The Woman's Seed, obscurely then foretold,
 Now amplier known thy Saviour and thy Lord,
 Last in the clouds from Heav'n to be reveal'd 545
 In glory of the Father, to dissolve
 Satan with his perverted world, then raise

From

532. *On all who in the worship persevere*

Of spirit and truth;] He alludes to John IV. 23. *The true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth.*

534. *Will deem]* This is the genuine reading of the first edition; in the second it was printed by mistake *Well deem*, but absurd as this reading is, it has been follow'd in all the editions which I have seen, till Mr. Fenton's and Dr. Bentley's.

VOL. II.

540. — *the day of respiration]* This is what the Scripture calls *the times of refreshing*, Acts III. 19.

546. — *to dissolve Satan with his perverted world,]* An expression of the same import, as when the light is said to *dissolve* the darkness,

Extulit os sacrum cœlo, tenebrasque resolvit. Virg. *Æn.* VIII. 591.

Our author probably borrow'd the phrase from Scripture, 2 Pet. III. E c 11,

From the conflagrant mafs, purg'd and refin'd,
 New Heav'ns, new Earth, ages of endless date
 Founded in righteoufnefs and peace and love, 550
 To bring forth fruits, joy and eternal blifs.

He ended; and thus Adam laft reply'd.
 How foon hath thy prediction, Seer bleft,
 Meafur'd this tranfient world, the race of time,
 Till time ftand fix'd? beyond is all abyfs, 555
 Eternity, whose end no eye can reach.
 Greatly instructed I fhall hence depart,
 Greatly in peace of thought, and have my fill
 Of knowledge, what this vefsel can contain;
 Beyond which was my folly to afpire. 560
 Henceforth I learn, that to obey is beft,
 And love with fear the only God, to walk
 As in his prefence, ever to obferve

His

11, 12. *Seeing then that all thefe things
 fhall be diffolved &c. the Heavens
 being on fire fhall be diffolved. And
 he had mention'd before, ver. 459.
 this world's diffolution.*

549. *New Heav'ns, new Earth,]*
 The very words of St. Peter, 2 Pet.
 III. 13. *Nevertheless we, according
 to his promife, look for new Heavens
 and a new Earth, wherein dwelleth
 righteoufnefs. This notion, of the
 Heavens and Earth being renew'd*

after the conflagration, and made the
 habitation of Angels and juft men
 made perfect, was very pleafing to
 our author, as it was to Dr. Burnet,
 and muft be to every one of a fine
 and exalted imagination; and Mil-
 ton has enlarged upon it in feveral
 parts of his works, and particularly
 in this poem, III. 333, &c. X. 638.
 XI. 65, 900. XII. 462.

568. *Subverting worldly ftrong, &c.]*
 1 Cor. I. 27. *God hath chofen the
 foolifh*

His providence, and on him sole depend,
 Merciful over all his works, with good 565
 Still overcoming evil, and by small
 Accomplishing great things, by things deem'd weak
 Subverting worldly strong, and worldly wise
 By simply meek; that suffering for truth's sake
 Is fortitude to highest victory, 570
 And to the faithful death the gate of life;
 Taught this by his example whom I now
 Acknowledge my Redeemer ever blest.

To whom thus also th' Angel last reply'd.
 This having learn'd, thou hast attain'd the sum 575
 Of wisdom; hope no high'er, though all the stars
 Thou knew'st by name, and all th' ethereal pow'rs,
 All secrets of the deep, all Nature's works,
 Or works of God in Heav'n, air, earth, or sea,

And

foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty. And so in the rest there is the sense of Scripture, if not the very words. As to obey is best, 1 Sam. XV. 22. Behold to obey is better than sacrifice. And on him sole depend, 1 Pet. V. 7. Casting all your care upon him, for he careth for you. And merciful over all his works, Psal. CXLV. 9. His mercies are over all his works. &c.

574. *To whom thus also th' Angel last reply'd.*] This is the last speech of the Angel, as the foregoing one was the last speech of Adam; and they are both introduc'd in the same manner. It was said before,

— thus Adam last reply'd:

and here it is said again,

— thus also th' Angel last reply'd.

This repetition is not below our notice.

E e 2

581. — only

And all the riches of this world enjoy'dst, 580
 And all the rule, one empire; only add
 Deeds to thy knowledge answerable, add faith,
 Add virtue, patience, temperance, add love,
 By name to come call'd charity, the soul
 Of all the rest: then wilt thou not be loath 585
 To leave this Paradise, but shalt possess
 A Paradise within thee, happier far.
 Let us descend now therefore from this top
 Of speculation; for the hour precise
 Exacts our parting hence; and see the guards, 590
 By me incamp'd on yonder hill, expect
 Their motion, at whose front a flaming sword,
 In signal of remove, waves fiercely round;
 We may no longer stay: go, waken Eve;
 Her also I with gentle dreams have calm'd 595

Por-

581. — only add &c.] See the 2d of Pet. I. 5, &c. *And besides this, giving all diligence, add to your faith, virtue; and to virtue, knowledge; and to knowledge, temperance; and to temperance, patience; and to patience, godliness; and to godliness, brotherly kindness; and to brotherly kindness, charity.* A text that the reader may have the pleasure of seeing excellently explain'd and illustrated in a most ingenious discourse by Mr. Warburton.

588. — from this top Of speculation;] From this visionary highth, from this hill of prophecy and prediction. *Speculation*, a watching on a tower or high place, thence a discovery, therefore applied to the prophets in the sacred page, who are called *seers* and *watchmen*, *speculatores* of *specula* Latin, a watchtower; *Son of man, I have made thee a watchman unto the house of Israel.* Ezek. III. 17. more exactly described chap. XXXIII. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. *Hume.*
So

Portending good, and all her spi'rits compos'd
 To meek submission: thou at season fit
 Let her with thee partake what thou hast heard,
 Chiefly what may concern her faith to know,
 The great deliverance by her seed to come 600
 (For by the Woman's seed) on all mankind:
 That ye may live, which will be many days,
 Both in one faith unanimous though sad,
 With cause for evils past, yet much more chear'd
 With meditation on the happy end. 605

He ended, and they both descend the hill;
 Descended, Adam to the bow'r where Eve
 Lay sleeping ran before, but found her wak'd;
 And thus with words not sad she him receiv'd.
 Whence thou return'st, and whither went'st, I
 know;

For

So Parad. Reg. IV. 236. *This specular mount.* Richardson.

608. — *but found her wak'd;*] There is some inconstitence between this and what is said in the argument to this book, which was written afterwards. There it is said that Adam *wakens Eve*, but here that he *found her wak'd*.

609. *And thus with words not sad she him receiv'd.*] Milton's poem ends very nobly. The last speeches of Adam and the Arch-

Angel are full of moral and instructive sentiments. The sleep that fell upon Eve, and the Effects it had in quieting the disorders of her mind, produce the same kind of consolation in the reader, who cannot peruse the last beautiful speech, which is ascribed to the mother of mankind, without a secret pleasure and satisfaction. The following lines, which conclude the poem, rise in a most glorious blaze of poetical images and expressions.

E e 3

Addison.

611. For

For God is also' in sleep, and dreams advise, 611
 Which he hath sent propitious, some great good
 Prefaging, since with sorrow' and heart's distress
 Wearied I fell asleep: but now lead on;
 In me is no delay; with thee to go, 615
 Is to stay here; without thee here to stay,
 Is to go hence unwilling; thou to me
 Art all things under Heav'n, all places thou,
 Who for my wilful crime art banish'd hence.
 This further consolation yet secure 620
 I carry hence; though all by me is lost,
 Such favor I unworthy am vouchsaf'd,

By

611. *For God is also in sleep, and dreams advise,*] Is also in sleep, and admonishes by dreams as well as by visions, according to Numb. XII. 6. *If there be a prophet among you, I the Lord will make myself known unto him in a vision, and I will speak unto him in a dream.* And thus Homer, Iliad. I. 63. *Καὶ γὰρ τ' ὄναρ ἐκ Διὸς ἐστίν.* Nam et somnium quoque ab Jove est. And the application is very elegant in this place, as Adam's was a vision, and Eve's a dream, and God was in the one as well as in the other.

615. *In me is no delay;*] In memoriam non erit ulla. Virg. Ecl. III. 52.

616. *Is to stay here; &c.*] She is now come to that temper of mind, as to think it Paradise, wherever

her husband is, as the Angel had taught her before, XI. 290.

Thy going is not lonely; with thee goes
 Thy husband; him to follow thou art bound;
 Where he abides, think there thy native soil.

So that the author makes Woman's Paradise to be in company with her husband, but Man's to be in himself, ver. 587.

A Paradise within thee, happier far.

625. — *for now too nigh*

Th' Arch-Angel stood,] Our poet observes the *το ὀρεσσον*, the decorum to the last degree, making our first parents such perfect patterns of modesty, as to forbear their indelicacies,

By me the promis'd Seed shall all restore.

So spake our mother Eve, and Adam heard
Well pleas'd, but answer'd not; for now too nigh 625
Th' Arch-Angel stood, and from the other hill
To their fix'd station, all in bright array
The Cherubim descended; on the ground
Gliding meteorous, as evening mist
Ris'n from a river o'er the marish glides, 630
And gathers ground fast at the lab'rer's heel
Homeward returning. High in front advanc'd
The brandish'd sword of God before them blaz'd
Fierce as a comet; which with torrid heat,

And

ments, though but in words, at the
Angel's approach. *Hume.*

629. *Gliding meteorous,*] Heliodorus in his *Ethiopics* acquaints us, that the motion of the Gods differs from that of mortals, as the former do not stir their feet, nor proceed step by step, but slide o'er the surface of the earth by an uniform swimming of the whole body. The reader may observe with how poetical a description Milton has attributed the same kind of motion to the Angels who were to take possession of Paradise. *Addison.*

630. — *marish*] An old word for marsh, of the French *marais*, and of the Latin *mariscus*, rushes commonly growing there. The word occurs in 1 Maccab. IX. 42. *they*

turned again to the marish of Jordan, and again, ver. 45. *the marish likewise and wood.* We meet with it too in Shakespear, 1 Henry VI. Act I. as Mr. Pope and Mr. Warburton rightly read the passage,

Our ile be made a *marish* of salt tears.

And throughout the course of our remarks we have been the more willing to explain and illustrate our author by similar expressions and sentiments in Shakespear, not only because Milton was a great reader and admirer of his works, but also because we conceive Shakespear and Milton to be two of the most extraordinary geniuses and greatest poets, whom any country or any time has produced.

E e 4

635. *And*

And vapor as the Libyan air adust, 635
 Began to parch that temp'rate clime; whereat
 In either hand the hast'ning Angel caught
 Our ling'ring parents, and to th' eastern gate
 Led them direct, and down the cliff as fast
 To the subjected plain; then disappear'd. 640
 They looking back, all th' eastern side beheld
 Of Paradise, so late their happy feat,

635. *And vapor*] Hor. Epod. III.

15. Nec tantus unquam siderum infedit
vapor
 Siticulosæ Apuliæ.

637. *In either hand &c.*] The author helped his invention in the following passage, by reflecting on the behaviour of the Angel, who in holy Writ has the conduct of Lot and his family. The circumstances drawn from that relation are very gracefully made use of on this occasion.

Addison.

641. *They looking back, &c.*] The scene which our first parents are surprised with, upon their looking back on Paradise, wonderfully strikes the reader's imagination, as nothing can be more natural than the tears they shed on that occasion. *Addison.*

643. *Wav'd over by that flaming brand,*] Milton had call'd it a sword before, XI. 120.

— and of a sword the flame,
 and XII. 633.

The brandish'd sword of God before them blaz'd:

and *brand* here does not signify what we commonly mean by it, but a sword, as it is used in Spenser, Fairy Queen, B. I. Cant. 3. St. 3.

With thrilling point of deadly iron brand:

And again, B. 5. Cant. 1. St. 9.

Which steely brand—Chrysaor it was hight,
 Chrysaor, that all other swords excell'd:

And again, B. 5. Cant. 9. St. 30.

But at her feet her sword was likewise laid,
 Whose long rest rusted the bright steely brand.

And so Fairfax likewise uses the word in his translation of Tasso, Cant. VII. St. 72.

Then from his side he took his noble brand,
 And giving it to Raimond, thus he spake;

This is the sword &c:

and in several other places. And we meet

Wav'd over by that flaming brand, the gate
 With dreadful faces throng'd and fiery arms:
 Some natural tears they dropt, but wip'd them
 soon ;

645

The world was all before them, where to choose
 Their place of rest, and Providence their guide:
 They hand in hand, with wand'ring steps and slow,
 Through Eden took their solitary way.

meet also with the word in so late a performance as Mr. Pope's translation of the Iliad, B. 5. ver. 105.

On his broad shoulder fell the
 forceful brand,
 Thence glancing downward lopt
 his holy hand,
 Which stain'd with sacred blood
 the blushing sand.

Brando in Italian too signifies a sword. And the reason of this denomination Junius derives from hence, because men fought with burnt stakes and fire-brands, before arms were invented.

Direxere acies : non jam certamine
 agresti,
 Stipitibus duris agitur, sudibusve
 præustis ;
 Sed ferro ancipiti decernitur.

Virg. Æn. VII. 523.

648. *They hand in hand, with wand'ring steps and slow,*

Through Eden took their solitary way.] If I might presume to offer at the smallest alteration in this divine work, I should think the poem would end better with the

foregoing passage, than with the two verses here quoted. These two verses, though they have their beauty, fall very much below the foregoing passage, and renew in the mind of the reader that anguish which was pretty well laid by that consideration.

The world was all before them,
 where to choose
 Their place of rest, and Providence
 their guide. *Addison.*

If I might presume, says an ingenious and celebrated writer, *to offer at the smallest alteration in this divine work.* If to make one small alteration appear'd to be so presumptuous ; what censure must I expect to incur, who have presum'd to make so many? But *Facta est alea*, and *Non injusta cecini* :

— Παρ' εμοιγε και αλλοι
 Οι κε με τιμησασι, μαλιστα δε
 μνητια Ζευς.

The gentleman would eject these two last lines of the book, and close it with the verse before. He seems to have been induc'd to this by a mistake of the printer, *They hand in hand*;

band; which reading does indeed make the last distich seem loose, unconnected, and absconded from the rest. But the author gave it *Then hand in hand*: which continues the prior sentence,

Some natural tears they dropt, but
wip'd them soon;
Then hand in hand.

Nor can these two verses possibly be spar'd from the work; for without them Adam and Eve would be left in the territory and suburbane of Paradise, in the very view of the dreadful faces.

Apparent diræ facies, inimicaque
Trojæ
Numina magna Deûm.

They must therefore be dismiss'd out of Eden, to live thenceforward in some other part of the world. And yet this distich, as the gentleman well judges, falls very much below the foregoing passage. It contradicts the poet's own scheme; nor is the diction unexceptionable. He tells us before, That Adam, upon hearing Michael's predictions, was even *furcharg'd with joy*, ver. 372; was *replete with joy and wonder*, ver. 468; was in doubt, whether he should *repent of, or rejoice in his fall*, ver. 475; was *in great peace of thought*, ver. 558; and Eve herself *not sad, but full of consolation*, ver. 620. Why then does this distich dismiss our first parents in anguish, and the reader in melancholy? And how can the expression be justified, *with wand'ring steps and slow*? Why *wand'ring*? Erratic steps? Very improper: when in the line before, they were guided by Providence. And why *slow*? when even

Eve profess'd her readiness and alacrity for the journey, ver. 614;

— but now lead on;

In me is no delay.

And why *their solitary way*? All words to represent a sorrowful parting? when even their former walks in Paradise were as solitary, as their way now: there being no body besides them two both here and there. Shall I therefore, after so many prior presumptions, presume at last to offer a distich, as close as may be to the author's words, and entirely agreeable to his scheme?

*Then hand in hand with social steps
their way*

Through Eden took, *with heav'nly
comfort chear'd.* Bentley.

As the poem closes with these two verses, so Dr. Bentley finishes his labor with remarks upon them. He observes that Mr. Addison declar'd for ejecting them both out of the poem; and supposes him to have been induc'd to this by a mistake of the printer, *They hand in hand*: which reading (the Doctor thinks) makes the last distich seem loose, unconnected and absconded from the rest. But Mr. Addison was too good a judge of Milton's way of writing, to eject them upon that account only. He gave us another reason for his readiness to part with them, and said that they renew in the mind of the reader that anguish, which was pretty well laid by the consideration of the two foregoing verses. But it has been said more justly by another gentleman (who seems well qualified to give a judgment in the case) that considering the moral and chief design of this poem, *Terror is the last passion to be left upon the mind of the reader.*

Essay

Essay on Pope's *Odyssey*, Part 2. p. 89. However this be, the Doctor's reason for keeping these two verses is extraordinary: he says that, unless they are kept, Adam and Eve would be left in the territory and suburbane of Paradise, in the very view of the *dreadful faces*: and he adds that they must therefore be dismiss'd *out of Eden*, to live thenceforward in some other part of the world. And yet both in the common reading and in the Doctor's too, they are left *in Eden*, only taking their way *through* it. But this by the by. Let us see how the Doctor would mend the matter; and then I will give my objections to his reading, and afterwards answer his objections to Milton's. He proposes to read thus,

Then hand in hand with *social* steps
their way
Through Eden took, *with heav'nly*
comfort chear'd.

To this reading we may object, that the verb wants the word *they* before it; for it is too far to fetch it from ver. 645, when two verses, of a quite different construction, are inserted between. Again, *chear'd with comfort* seems tautologous, for *comfort* is imply'd in *chear'd*, without its being mention'd. Lastly, if they went *hand in hand*, there is no need to tell us, that their steps were *social*; they could not be otherwise. So much for the Doctor's reading. We are now to consider the objections which the Doctor makes to the present reading. It contradicts (says he) the poet's own scheme, and the diction is not unexceptionable. With regard to the diction, he asks, Why were the steps *wand'ring* ones, when *Providence was their guide*? But it

might be their *guide*, without pointing out to them which way they should take at every step: The words *Providence their guide* signify that now since Michael, who had hitherto conducted them by the hand, was departed from them, they had no guide to their steps, only the general guidance of Providence to keep them safe and unhurt. Eve (it is plain) expected that her steps would be *wand'ring* ones, when upon being told that she was to leave Paradise, she breaks out into these words, XI. 282.

How shall I part? and whither
wander down
Into a lower world?

Again the Doctor asks, Why *slow* steps; when Eve profess'd her readiness and alacrity for the journey, ver. 614? But that readiness was not an absolute one, it was a choosing rather to go than to stay behind there without Adam, ver. 615 &c. In that view she was ready to go: but in the view of leaving the delights of Paradise, they were both backward and even *linger'd*, ver. 638. Their steps therefore were *slow*. And why (says the Doctor) is their way call'd *solitary*, when their walks in Paradise were as solitary as their way now, there being no body besides them two both here and there? It may be answer'd, that their way was *solitary*, not in regard to any companions whom they had met with elsewhere; but because they were here to meet with no objects of any kind that they were acquainted with: Nothing here was *familiar to their eyes*, and (as Adam, then in Paradise, well expresses it in XI. 305.)

— all

——— all places else
Inhospitable appear, and *desolate*,
Nor knowing us, nor known.

[And may we not by *solitary* understand farther their being now left by the Angel?] The last, but the main, objection which the Doctor makes, is that this distich contradicts the poet's own scheme. To support this charge, he has referr'd us to half a dozen places of this twelfth book, where Adam or Eve are spoken of, as having *joy, peace, and consolation* &c; and from thence he concludes that this distich ought not to dismiss our first parents in anguish, and the reader in melancholy. But the *joy, peace, and consolation* spoken of in those passages are represented always as arising in our first parents from a view of some future good, chiefly of the Messiah. The thought of leaving Paradise (notwithstanding any other comfort that they had) was all along a *sorrowful* one to them. Upon this account Eve *fell asleep wearied with sorrow and distress of heart*, ver. 613. Both Adam and Eve *linger'd* at their quitting Paradise, ver. 638, and they *dropt some natural tears* on that occasion, ver. 645. In this view the Arch-Angel, ver. 603, recommends to our first parents that they should live *unanimous, tho' sad with cause for evils past*. And for a plainer proof that the scheme of the poem was to dismiss them not without *sorrow*, the poet in XI. 117. puts these words into God's mouth, as his instruction to Michael,

So send them forth, though *sorrowing*, yet in peace. *Pearce.*

These two last verses have occasion'd much trouble to the critics, some

being for rejecting, others for altering, and others again for transposing them: but the propriety of the two lines, and the design of the author are fully explain'd and vindicated in the excellent note of Dr. Pearce. And certainly there is no more necessity that an epic poem should conclude happily, than there is that a tragedy should conclude unhappily. There are instances of several tragedies ending happily; and with as good reason an epic poem may terminate fortunately or unfortunately, as the nature of the subject requires: and the subject of *Paradise Lost* plainly requires something of a sorrowful parting, and was intended no doubt for terror as well as pity, to inspire us with the fear of God as well as with commiseration of Man. All therefore that we shall add is to desire the reader to observe the beauty of the numbers, the heavy dragging of the first line, which cannot be pronounced but slowly, and with several pauses,

They | hand in hand, | with wand'ring steps | and slow, |

and then the quicker flow of the last verse with only the usual pause in the middle,

Through Eden took their solitary way;

as if our parents had moved heavily at first, being loath to leave their delightful Paradise, and afterwards mended their pace, when they were at a little distance. At least this is the idea that the numbers convey: and as many volumes might be compos'd upon the structure of Milton's verses, and the collocation of his words, as Erythraeus and other critics have written upon Virgil. We have

have taken notice of several beauties of this kind in the course of these remarks, and particularly of the varying of the pauses, which is the life and soul of all versification in all languages. It is this chiefly which makes Virgil's verse better than Ovid's, and Milton's superior to any other English poet's: and it is for want of this chiefly that the French heroic verse has never, and can never come up to the English. There is no variety of numbers, but the same pause is preserved exactly in the same place in every line for ten or ten thousand lines together: and such a perpetual repetition of the same pause, such an eternal sameness of verse must make any poetry tedious, and either offend the ear of the reader, or lull him asleep: and this in the opinion of several French writers themselves. There can be no good poetry without music, and there can be no music without variety.

The number of books in Paradise Lost is equal to those of the *Æneid*. Our author in his first edition had divided his poem into ten books, but afterwards broke the seventh and the tenth each of them into two different books, by the help of some small additions. This second division was made with great judgment, as any one may see, who will be at the pains of examining it. It was not done for the sake of such a chimerical beauty as that of resembling Virgil in this particular, but for the more just and regular disposition of this great work. Those who have read Bossu, and many of the critics who have written since his time, will not pardon me if I

do not find out the particular moral which is inculcated in Paradise Lost. Though I can by no means think, with the last mention'd French author, that an epic writer first of all pitches upon a certain moral, as the ground-work and foundation of his poem, and afterwards finds out a story to it: I am however of opinion, that no just heroic poem ever was or can be made, from whence one great moral may not be deduced. That which reigns in Milton, is the most universal and most useful that can be imagin'd; it is in short this, *That obedience to the will of God makes men happy, and that disobedience makes them miserable.* This is visibly the moral of the principal fable, which turns upon Adam and Eve, who continued in Paradise, while they kept the command that was given them, and were driven out of it as soon as they had transgressed. This is likewise the moral of the principal episode, which shows us how an innumerable multitude of Angels fell from their state of bliss, and were cast into Hell upon their disobedience. Besides this great moral, which may be looked upon as the soul of the fable, there are an infinity of under morals, which are to be drawn from the several parts of the poem, and which make this work more useful and instructive than any other poem in any language. Those who have criticized on the *Odyssey*, the *Iliad*, and *Æneid*, have taken a great deal of pains to fix the number of months and days contained in the action of each of those poems. If any one thinks it worth his while to examin this particular in Milton, he will find that from Adam's first appearance in the fourth book, to his expulsion from Paradise

in

in the twelfth, the author reckons ten days. As for that part of the action which is described in the three first books, as it does not pass within the regions of nature, I have before observed that it is not subject to any calculations of time. I have now finished my observations on a work, which does an honor to the English nation. I have taken a general view of it under these four heads, the fable, the characters, the sentiments, and the language, and made each of them the subject of a particular paper. I have in the next place spoken of the censures which our author may incur under each of these heads, which I have confined to two papers, though I might have enlarged the number, if I had been disposed to dwell on so ungrateful a subject. I believe however that the severest reader will not find any little fault in heroic poetry, which this author has fallen into, that does not come under one of those heads, among which I have distributed his several blemishes. After having thus treated at large of *Paradise Lost*, I could not think it sufficient to have celebrated this poem in the whole, without descending to particulars. I have therefore bestowed a paper upon each book, and endeavored not only to prove that the poem is beautiful in general, but to point out its particular beauties, and to determine wherein they consist. I have endeavored to show how some passages are beautiful by being sublime, others by being soft, others by being natural; which of them are recommended by the passion, which by the moral, which by the sentiment, and which by the expression. I have likewise endeavored to show how the genius of the poet shines

by a happy invention, a distant allusion, or a judicious imitation; how he has copied or improved Homer or Virgil, and raised his own imaginations by the use which he has made of several poetical passages in Scripture. I might have inserted also several passages of Tasso, which our author has imitated; but as I do not look upon Tasso to be a sufficient voucher, I would not perplex my reader with such quotations, as might do more honor to the Italian than the English poet. In short I have endeavored to particularize those innumerable kinds of beauty, which it would be tedious to recapitulate, but which are essential to poetry, and which may be met with in the works of this great author. Had I thought, at my first engaging in this design, that it would have led me to so great a length, I believe I should never have enter'd upon it; but the kind reception which it has met with among those whose judgments I have a value for, as well as the uncommon demands which my bookseller tells me have been made for these particular discourses, give me no reason to repent of the pains I have been at in composing them.

Addison.

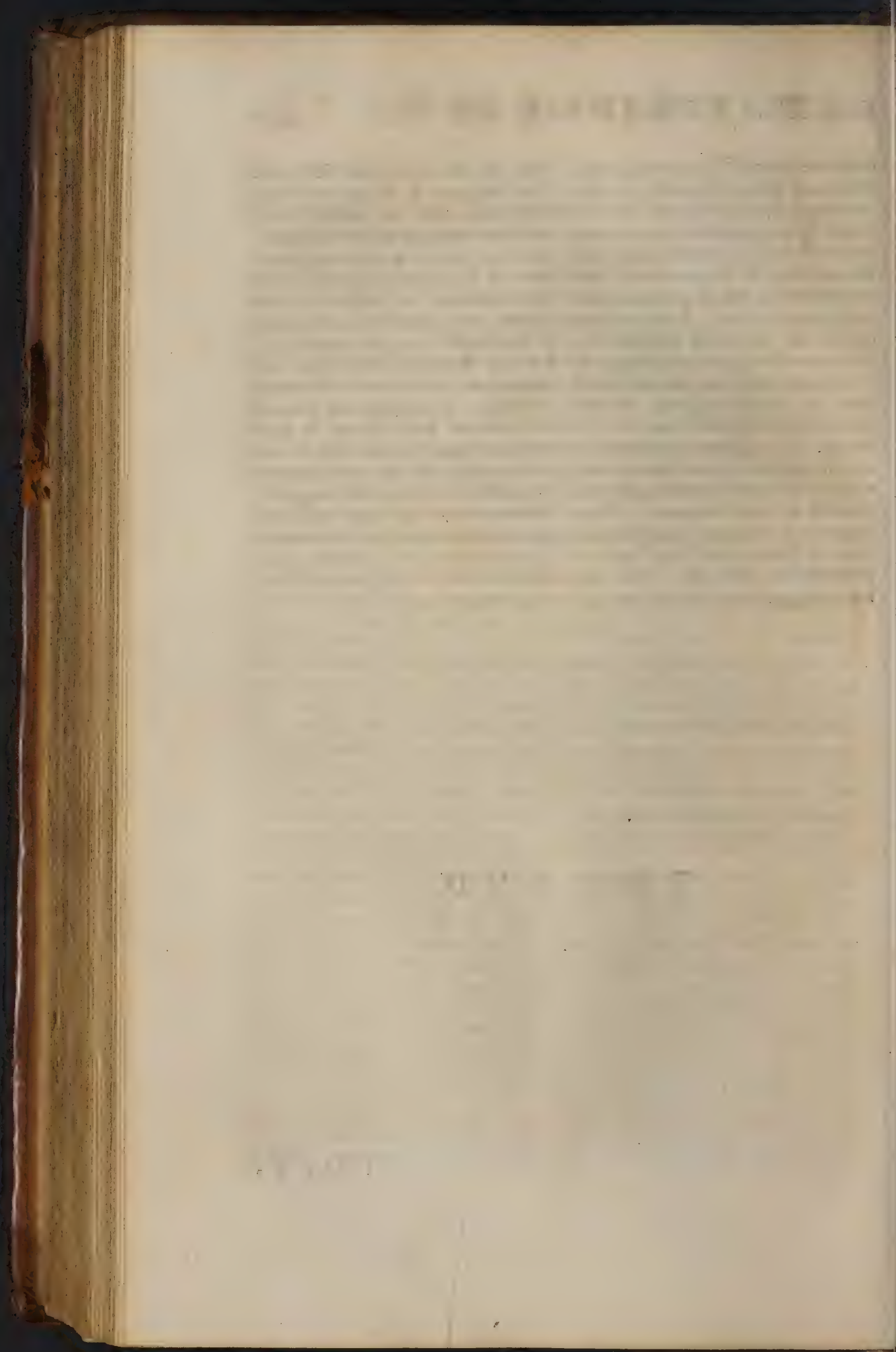
And thus have we finish'd our collections and remarks on this divine poem. The reader probably may have observed that these two last books fall short of the sublimity and majesty of the rest: and so likewise do the two last books of the *Iliad*, and for the same reason, because the subject is of a different kind from that of the foregoing ones. The subject of these two last books of the *Paradise Lost* is history rather than poetry. However we may still discover the same great genius, and there

there are intermix'd as many ornaments and graces of poetry, as the nature of the subject, and the author's fidelity and strict attachment to the truth of Scripture history, and the reduction of so many and such various events into so narrow a compass, would admit. It is the same ocean, but not at its highest tide; it is now ebbing and retreating. It is the same sun, but not in its full blaze of meridian glory; it now shines with a gentler ray as it is setting. Throughout the whole the author appears to have been a most critical reader and a most passionate admirer of holy Scripture. He is indebted to Scripture infinitely more than to Homer and Virgil and all other books whatever. Not only his principal fable, but all his epi-

odes are founded upon Scripture. The Scripture hath not only furnish'd him with the noblest hints, rais'd his thoughts and fir'd his imagination; but hath also very much enrich'd his language, given a certain solemnity and majesty to his diction, and supplied him with many of his choicest happiest expressions. Let men therefore learn from this instance to reverence those sacred Writings. If any man can pretend to deride or despise them, it must be said of him at least, that he has a taste and genius the most different from Milton's that can be imagin'd. Whoever has any true taste and genius, we are confident, will esteem this poem the best of modern productions, and the Scriptures the best of all ancient ones.

T H E E N D.

P O S T-



P O S T S C R I P T.

A VERY extraordinary attempt having been lately made to undermine and destroy the reputation of Milton as a poet, it may be proper for the sake of truth, and for the sake of a favorite author, to give a short history of it, here in the conclusion of this work. Soon after I had published my proposals for printing a new edition of the *Paradise Lost* with notes of various authors, Mr. William Lauder, a Scotchman, came to me, exclaiming horribly of John Milton, and inveighing most bitterly against him for the worst and greatest of all plagiaries; he could prove that he had borrowed the substance of whole books together, and there was scarcely a single thought or sentiment in his poem which he had not stolen from some author or other, notwithstanding his vain pretence to *things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme*. And then in confirmation of his charge he recited a long roll of Scotch, German, and Dutch poets, and affirmed that he had brought the books along with him which were his vouchers, and appealed particularly to Ramsay a Scotch Divine, and to Masenius a German Jesuit: but upon producing his authors he could not find Masenius, he had dropt the book some where or other in the way, and expressed much surprise and concern for the loss of it; Ramsay he left with me, and my opinion of Milton's imitations of that author I have given in a note on IX. 513. I knew very well that Milton was an universal scholar, as famous for his great reading as for the extent of his genius; and I thought it not improbable, that Mr. Lauder, having the good fortune

tune to meet with these German and Dutch poems, might have traced out there some of his imitations and allusions, which had escaped the researches of others: and it was my advice to him then, and as often as I had opportunities of seeing him afterwards, that if he had really made such notable discoveries as he boasted, he would do well to communicate them to the public; an ingenious countryman of his had published an *Essay upon Milton's imitations of the Ancients*, and he would equally deserve the thanks of the learned world by writing an *Essay upon Milton's imitations of the Moderns*: but at the same time I recommended to him a little more modesty and decency, and urged all the arguments I could to persuade him to treat Milton's name with more respect, and not to *write* of him with the same acrimony and rancor with which he *spoke* of him; it would weaken his cause instead of strengthening it, and would hurt himself more than Milton in the opinion of all candid readers. He began with publishing some specimens of his work in a monthly pamphlet intitled *the Gentleman's Magazine*: and I was sorry to find that he had no better regarded my advice in his manner of writing; for his papers were much in the same strain and spirit as his conversation, his assertions strong, and his proofs weak. However to do him justice, several of the quotations which he had made from the *Adamus Exul*, a tragedy of the famous Hugo Grotius, I thought so exactly parallel to several passages in the *Paradise Lost*, that I readily adopted them, and inserted them without scruple in my notes, esteeming it no reproach to Milton, but rather a commendation of his taste and judgment, to have gathered

ther'd so many of the choicest flowers in the gardens of others, and to have transplanted them with improvements into his own. At length, after I had published my first edition of the *Paradise Lost*, came forth Mr. Lauder's *Essay on Milton's use and imitation of the Moderns*: but except the quotations from Grotius, which I had already inserted in my first edition, I found in Mr. Lauder's authors not above half a dozen passages, which I thought worth transferring into my second edition; not but he had produced more passages somewhat resembling others in Milton; but when a similitude of thought or expression, of sentiment or description, occurs in Scripture and we will say in Staphorstius, in Virgil and perhaps in Alexander Ross, in Ariosto and perhaps in Taubmannus, I should rather conclude that Milton had borrowed from the former whom he is certainly known to have read, than from the latter whom it is very uncertain whether he had ever read or not. We know that he had often drawn, and delighted to draw from the pure fountain; and why then should we believe that he chose rather to drink of the stream after it was polluted by the trash and filth of others? We know that he had thoroughly studied, and was perfectly acquainted with the graces and beauties of the great originals; and why then should we think that he was only the servile copyer of perhaps a bad copy, which perhaps he had never seen? This was all the use that I could possibly make of Mr. Lauder's *Essay*, and the most favorable opinion that I could entertain of him and his performance, admitting all that he had alleged to be true and genuin, was that the *malice* of his *charge* was much greater than the *validity*

of his *proofs*: but what now if he shall be found to have suborned false evidence in support of his accusation, and instead of convicting Milton of *plagiarism*, to have fixed an eternal brand of *forgery* upon himself? It was certainly very artful in Mr. Lauder to derive so many of his authorities from books, which are so little known, and copies of which are so very scarce, that the principal of them cannot be found in the best and greatest libraries: and this stratagem had a double use, for at the same time that it served to display his uncommon reading, it was also the means of his eluding the search of the most curious of his readers. I should myself have examined his authorities, if I could have procured the books; but for want of them I took it for granted, and thought I might safely take it for granted, that the passages which he had quoted from such and such authors were really in those authors; and could not have harboured a suspicion, that a man of any learning and ingenuity, for the sake of *defaming the venerable dead*, could have been guilty of such monstrous forgeries, as have since been proved upon him, and as he himself indeed has confessed. For a learned and ingenious Gentleman being at Oxford the last summer had the curiosity to search in the Bodleian library for some of these German and Dutch poets, who according to Mr. Lauder held out the lighted torch to Milton: and after searching in vain for Masenius and the Adamus Exul of Grotius, he was so fortunate as to find the same edition, as Mr. Lauder had quoted, of Staphorstius's Latin poem intitled *Triumphus pacis* on the conclusion of the peace between the States of Holland and the Commonwealth of England in 1655. It appears to be

be a prolix as well as a wretched dull composition, and such as could not possibly have afforded any assistance to Milton: and it being one of Mr. Lauder's artifices in his quotations never to refer to particular places or pages for the better direction of his readers, the Gentleman had the trouble of turning over the whole poem, and of examining page after page, before he could find the passages which Mr. Lauder had quoted: and upon comparing his quotations with the printed copy he discovered to his surprise that Mr. Lauder had taken the liberty of omitting and inserting lines at pleasure, to make out a likeness; and particularly that the eight lines on marriage (which I have cited in the note on IV. 753. and which are all that I have cited from Staphorstius, as indeed they are all that bear any strong resemblance to Milton) have no existence in Staphorstius, but were interpolated by Mr. Lauder; and well indeed might they bear a strong resemblance to Milton, Mr. Lauder having had the assurance to transcribe them word for word from the Latin translation of the Paradise Lost by Hog or Hogæus printed in 1690. This discovery incited the Gentleman to make farther researches, and farther researches produced more discoveries, which the Gentleman has fairly laid before the world in an excellent pamphlet lately published and intitled *Milton vindicated from the charge of plagiarism brought against him by Mr. Lauder, and Lauder himself convicted of several forgeries and gross impositions on the public. In a letter humbly addressed to the Right Honorable the Earl of Bath.* By John Douglas M. A. Rector of Eton Constantine, Salop. Printed for A. Millar in the Strand. Such a vindication of Milton must
be

be pleasing to every Briton, who hath any love for poetry, or any regard for the honor of his country: and if Scotland suffers the mortification of seeing *one* of her sons guilty of bringing an injurious slander upon our country, she enjoys the satisfaction likewise of seeing *another* deserving of the highest commendation for refuting the calumny and wiping the stain away: and there cannot be a better recommendation of the vindication, nor a stronger proof of its being well written, than its having brought the Offender himself to a proper sense and acknowledgment of his various frauds and impositions upon the public. For Mr. Lauder, looking upon me, I suppose, as a person peculiarly interested in the fame and reputation of Milton, has been with me to plead guilty to the charge which Mr. Douglas has brought against him, and to beg pardon of me and of the public. And in the sorrow and sincerity of his heart he has made some farther confessions to me. For I told him plainly, that his forgeries had been detected in so many instances, that one could not help suspecting him in all the rest, and particularly in Masenius and Grotius, whose books for ought that appeared no body in England had seen besides himself: I thought that the merit of his *Essay* consisted chiefly in his quotations from the *Adamus Exul* of Grotius, which were more for his purpose than any others; but he had said himself (*Essay*. p. 49.) that he could not procure a printed copy of that tragedy either in Britain or Holland, and had only a transcript of it from Abraham Gronovius, keeper of the public library at Leyden: and I could assure him, that an extract of those passages was sent over to a gentleman in Holland, who was employed to inquire
of

of Gronovius whether they were genuin or not; and therefore he might as well confess the truth himself, which would be known in a little time without his confession. He acknowledged that he had himself composed several verses, which he had quoted as from Grotius. I inquired particularly after those verses so nearly resembling that passage in Milton,

Better to reign in Hell, than serve in Heaven:

and he confessed that he had made those very verses, and indeed all which had any particular likeness to any thing in Milton. I expressed my suspicions likewise about Masenius, especially as he had lost the book so long ago, and as Mr. Douglas had proved that one of his quotations from Masenius, consisting of eight lines, (which I have cited likewise in a note on X. 710.) was taken literally from the Latin translation of the Paradise Lost by Hogæus; and it was not probable that the same eight lines should be in Hogæus, and in Masenius too. He owned honestly that they were not, nor several things which he had ascribed to Masenius. I asked particularly whether the word *Pandæmonium* was in Masenius, for I had all along suspected that it was not, *Concilium inferorum sive Pandæmonium*: and he acknowledged that it was an interpolation of his own. I questioned whether Masenius had enumerated the four blind poets,

Tiresias, Phineus, Thamyrisque, et magnus Homerus:

and he answered that there was some foundation for that; Masenius had reckoned up *three* of them, and he had inserted the *fourth*: and commonly I found,
that

that when he had caused any thing to be printed in capital letters or Italic characters, as worthy of the peculiar notice and observation of his readers, that was interpolated and forged by himself. Well might Mr. Lauder select this verse for the motto to his book,

Things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme;

for tho' there have been frequent forgeries in the literary world, yet such as these I believe not only were never practiced before, but were never attempted: but

—— aliter non fit, Avite, liber;

he had recourse to these artifices, as he himself confesses, because he plainly perceived that he could not otherwise have proved his point to the satisfaction of any body. But I forbear to aggravate matters. I would not inflame the reader's indignation. The man has already been sufficiently exposed, and expresses sorrow for his offense, and promises to make a public recantation acknowledging his crimes, and begging pardon of the world: and tho' he has entirely ruined his character, as a man of probity; yet it must be said for him, that he has given some proofs of his abilities, as a man of learning.

THOMAS NEWTON.

December 5.

1750.

I N D E X.

A

	Book	Line
A <i>Aron and Moses, their mission to Egypt</i>	xii	170
<i>Abdiel (a Seraph) opposes Satan promoting the</i>	v	803
Angels revolt, &c.	v	877
Reply to his answer	v	896
His fidelity, &c. celebrated	vi	1
Retreat from <i>Satan's</i> party	vi	114
Soliloquy on view of him at their head	vi	130
Speech to him thereon	vi	171
Reply to his answer	vi	189
Encounters him in the battel	vi	369
Vanquishes <i>Ariel, Arioc and Ramiel</i> , (fallen Angels)	xi	429
<i>Abel and Cain</i> , their story related	xii	113
<i>Abraham's</i> and the patriarchs	xii	446
All nations his sons by faith	ii	570
<i>Acheron</i> , a river of hell	iv	288
<i>Adam</i> and <i>Eve</i> described generally	iv	295
particularly	iv	312
	iv	492
	iv	738
Their state of innocence	v	211
	v	303
	viii	510
		Vide <i>Innocence.</i>
Night orison	iv	720
Morning orison	v	153
Preparations to entertain the Angel <i>Raphael</i>	v	313
The table and entertainment describ'd	v	391
Their nuptial bed	iv	708
Nuptials celebrated	viii	510
Parting preceding the temptation	ix	385
Behaviour after their fall	ix	1004
Find themselves naked	ix	1051
Make themselves breeches of fig-leaves	ix	1099
Recriminate on, and reproach each other	ix	1187
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Vide *Similes.*

I N D E X.

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To her at night	iv	660
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Viewing her sleeping	v	94
Answer to her relating her dream, (the subject of Satan's first illusive temptation)	v	129
To her weeping	v	361
Invites the Angel <i>Raphael</i> to his bower, &c.	v	460
Discourse with him	viii	651
Continued on various subjects		
Vide <i>Raphael</i> .		
His creation and dominion, &c. over the creatures	ix	524
Prohibited the Tree of Knowledge	vii	542
	viii	332
Account of himself, and objects about him, &c. on his creation	viii	253
Of his first view of the Divine Presence, instation in Paradise, &c.	viii	311
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His first view of her	viii	481
Passion for her	viii	521
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Care, and fears for her in absence	ix	838
Meets her returning with the forbidden fruit	ix	847
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Resolves to die with her	ix	907
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I N D E X.

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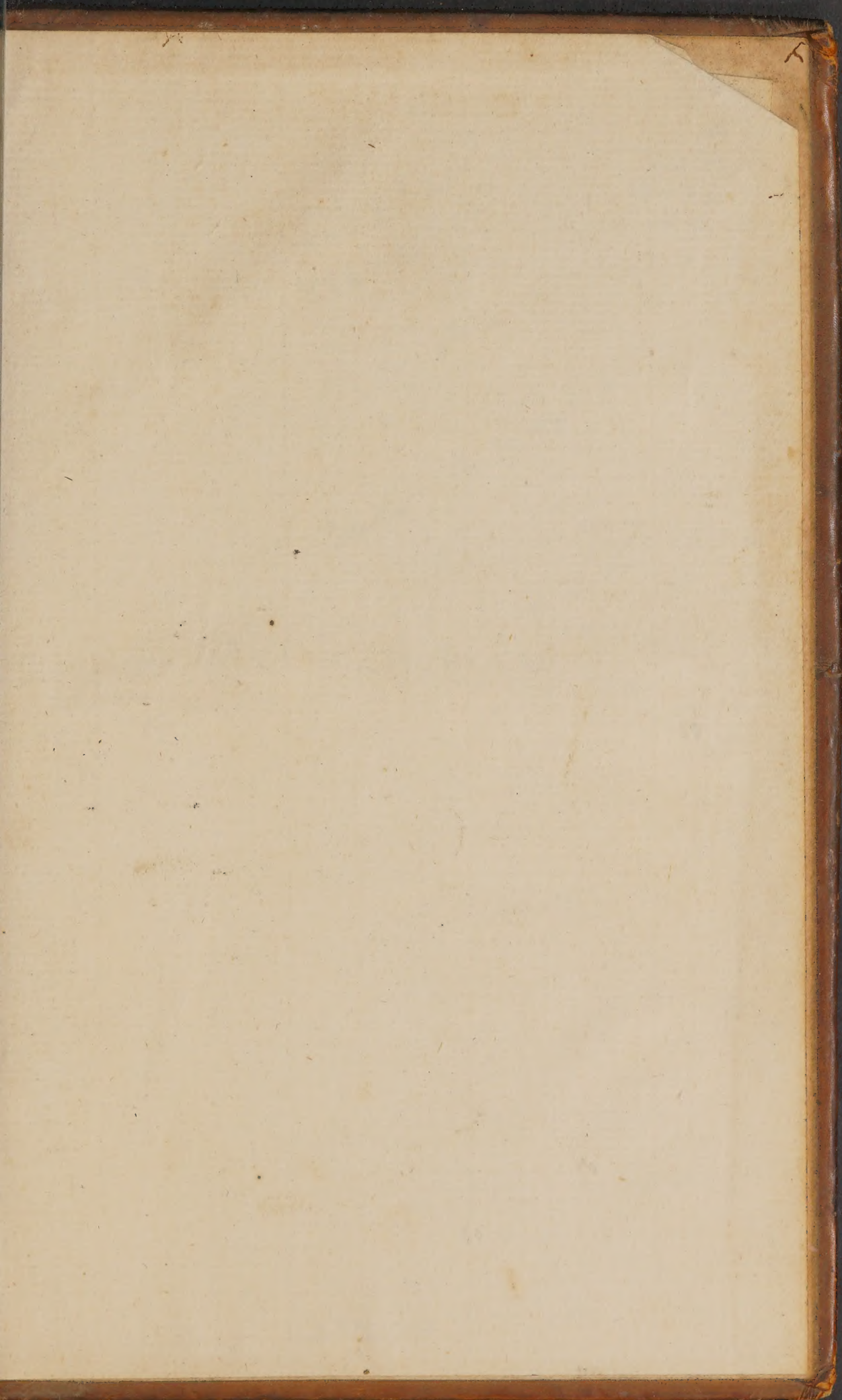
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